THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

King CHARLES the Second,

FROM THE

RESTORATION

To the End of the YEAR 1667.

WRITTEN BY

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87
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47

A LOGICAL
DISSERTATION
ON THE
HISTORY
OF THE REIGN
OF
KING CHARLES the Second,
IN THE REIGN
OF
KING JAMES the First.

THE

INTRODUCTION.

HAD reformation in religion been limited to expelling the ſuperſtitious objects of relicts, ſhrines, and their pretended miraculous efficacy, circumſcribing the exorbitant power of the clergy, demoliſhing the lazy fraternities in convents, reducing their immenſe properties, and ſpreading the remainder more uniformly amongſt the paſtors of the whole church; had the pride of prela-

cy, ſtill ſuſtained by too great revenues, been humbled to a demeanour more reſembling that maſter whom they pretend to follow, and more conſentaneous to that doctrine which he taught, and is their duty to inculcate; had the inferior eccleſiaſticks, freed from neceſſitous circumſtances, to which too many of them are bound, been enabled to ſupport a more decent behaviour in their lives and manners, that men might have been exhorted to acts of virtue with more becoming authority, and intimidated from vicious purſuits with leſs abject complaiſance; it had been of all tranſactions the moſt beneficial to humankind.

But when the modes of worſhip, and articles of faith, eſſential to a religion long eſtabliſhed, are permitted to be changed, new modelled or rejected, according to the vague and extravagant conceptions of every capricious fanatick; when the truth of every myſtical doctrine is to be examined by the teſt of what is called reaſon, in the heads of ſuch wild individuals; and the reality and conduct in the miraculous interpoſitions of providence, in things ſacred and ſupernatural, to be judged of and decided by their analogy with the common courſe of nature; is it not to be dread-

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ed that a greater portion of evil, than of good, will be the reſult of ſuch indulgence?

Since the revelation of Chriſt, which brought new lights to the intellect, and new concerns to the heart of man, religion has been more intimately combined with the conduct of ſtates; and mankind is neceſſarily become more anxious concerning the objects of their worſhip, than before that intereſting æra. Their minds ſeem equally incapable to bear, and be happy, either a ſtate of implicit ſubjection, or of abſolute independency, in religious inſtitutions. In the firſt, confined within a too contracted ſpace, they become enfeebled and inert, through want of more ſcope and a freer exerciſe of their faculties. In the ſecond, let looſe without limit or controul, they run frantick into anarchy and irreligion.

To conſider things in a political ſenſe only, will it not be leſs prejudicial to a ſtate, in the ultimate reſult, for a legiſlator totally to exclude one religion, and inſtitute another in the place of it, ſuppoſing any two could be of equal import to the ſalvation of mankind, than to reform the publick faith and worſhip of a religion long eſtabliſhed, and revered as ſacred? In ſuch a change it may be conceived, that ſomething abſolutely

wrong is exploded for ſomething perfectly right: and however repugnant at firſt the mind of ſome men may be to that alternative, perſeverance and a due encouragement by the ſovereign power, a diminution of the old adherents by death, and the inclination of riſing generations to conform with the new eſtabliſhed religion, eſpecially if diſgrace attends the diſcarded, will at no great diſtance create an univerſal conformity to the favourite worſhip; and the antient will be totally obliterated and forgotten; as it has proved in the eſtabliſhing chriſtianity in the place of paganiſm.

But, when men pretend to be reformers, reject and new model the articles of faith, and modes of worſhip, in a religion long received as true and holy, becauſe they preſume to deem them erroneous and diſcordant to it's original inſtitution, there can be no end of changing. The ſpirit of reformation being once let looſe, and religion conceived to contain errors and falſe doctrines, will neceſſarily beget the deſign of farther reformation whilſt any thing remains to be altered or excluded. Thus thoſe animoſities, which hurt and diſtract a ſtate, are eternally kept alive by the continual change of the ſame religion; which

which would have abſolutely ſubſided, and been forgotten, in exiling one and inſtituting another.

Nothing is more ſeductive to the ſoul of man, than the idea of poſſeſſing a right, in all things indiſcriminately, to judge for himſelf, and to act in conſequence of it, particularly in matters relative to his own ſalvation, which have been too generally preſumed to be the ſeparate concern of each individual, and not that of the legiſlature; than which nothing hath proved more fallacious and deſtructive to the people to whom that indulgence hath been granted.

One great miſchief, which attends the indulgence of individuals in the unlimited liberty of thinking for themſelves, is, that the conviction of univerſal truth and holineſs, which ought for ever to accompany the religion of a nation, is totally deſtroyed; and the ideas of right and wrong, true and erroneous, ſacred and prophane, becoming inſeparably blended and indiſtinct in the minds of the people, there ſcarce remains a baſis on which to build a ſufficient obligation to the duties that men owe the deity.

The chriſtian religion having preſcribed no poſitive form of worſhip, may it not be reaſonably preſumed, that as in the natural, this alſo was

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left to be adapted by legiſlators, agreeable to the deſign of their civil inſtitutions? That mode then in all ſtates, which in it's nature is the moſt analogous to the form of government, replete with motives the moſt coercive in rendering men obedient to the dictates of revelation and the laws, ought certainly to be preferred. Conſequently all objects, which impreſs the ſenſes with awe and reverence to the ſupreme being, animate the paſſions with love and adoration, exalt the imagination to conceptions more ſublime and worthy of the deity, captivate the faith with the energick charms of his miraculous power, and convince the reaſon of their truth and rectitude in their application to the human faculties, all which beſt preſerve the heart from vice, and actuate it to virtue, will in their nature form a worſhip the moſt conſentaneous to the doctrines of the apoſtles, and beſt adapted to humankind. Have not men therefore in their reformations of religion, not ſufficiently diſtinguiſhing between the influence which ſuch objects deſerve to poſſeſs in the minds of a people, and the injudicious and ſiniſter uſe to which they have been ſometimes converted by prieſts towards obtaining undue power, raſhly diſcarded the former, without cauſe or judgment?

judgment? Should a ſtate indulge ſuch reformers with the licence of expunging both, becauſe they have not faculties equal to the diſcerning between the conſtant utility and occaſional abuſe of ſuch objects, their neceſſary connection with the nature of religion, the wants of man, and the form of government?

True liberty conſiſts in the conſtituting good laws, and preſerving them inviolate by motives of hope and fear. Judges, however, frequently ſtretch the power of them beyond the deſign of their inſtitution. From ſuch men indeed all authority ſhould be taken, becauſe they act inconſiſtent with true freedom, and their original intent. But are the laws themſelves, which are modes of juſtice, into the cauſe of whoſe origin moſt people cannot penetrate, to be abrogated for that reaſon? to what concluſion would ſuch proceedings tend, but to the univerſal deſtruction of all liberty and government? how is it a ſlavery to the mind, to obey the inſtitutions in religion more than thoſe of the ſtate? Why ſhould a liberty of thinking and acting be conceded with reſpect to one, and denied in the other? to believers no obligations are ſo light, as thoſe which are enjoined by religion, becauſe they are always

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received as proceeding from an unerring ſource: whereas thoſe of men can never be acquieſced in with equal compliance, becauſe they are the known productions of fallibility.

Through the various degrees of intellect amongſt men, from the moſt terreſtrial which joins the brute, to the moſt ſpiritual which touches the cœleſtial beings, if each has a right to think and decide for himſelf in matters of religion, the advantages of wiſdom above ignorance are rendered abſolutely uſeleſs in matters of the moſt momentous concern: and if the reſult of ſuch indulgence in thinking is to conſtitute every man's faith and rule of action, ſuppoſing the ſcale of underſtanding to run gradually from the loweſt to the higheſt through the whole human race, every individual would differ in his manner of thinking, and his deciſions be diſtinct from thoſe of every other. Thus that, which is abſolutely true and right in the opinion of every man taken ſingly, would be falſe and wrong in the opinion of all the others: and in this way there would be as many truths and errors, as the world contains individuals, and nothing abſolutely right or wrong. Accordingly no form of worſhip, no ſyſtem of religion,

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could take place; every one would be oppoſing a connexion with every other; and all things indeciſive and at a ſtand. For this right of judging and deciding being mutually acceded to amongſt all, no man however exalted in underſtanding, according to his own principles, ought to preſume to direct the weakeſt; ſince the latter equally with the former poſſeſſes the ſame right of thinking and determining for himſelf; the concluſion of whoſe reſearch alſo, though totally diſtinct, is yet equally infallible with that of the wiſeſt. In this manner, men included in one city, and obedient to the ſame laws, muſt be excluded from uniformity of worſhip; the efficacy of ſo important an union be totally annihilated; and an utter impoſſibility of inſtituting a national religion take place, on ways of thinking every one of which are at once perfect truth and perfect falſhood.

But as the ſcale of mental progreſs to perfection, if it exiſt in all human nature, is not to be found in any one kingdom, men nearly upon the ſame level of underſtanding and manner of thinking, where this liberty of thinking and acting in religious ſubjects is permitted, run into ſeparate ſects; in which one, or perhaps a great-

er number of more vehement paſſions, more enthuſiaſtick ſpirit, or more deſperate deſigns (for it ſeldom happens, that men of the beſt underſtanding are heads of parties) impoſe themſelves upon their aſſociates, as leaders of the faction; who, though implicitly obeying the dictates or contrivances of thoſe men, imagine themſelves the free followers of their own conceptions; after which the love of power prevailing they denying to thoſe, who differ from them, the ſame liberty of thinking and acting for themſelves, that they have vindicated as the indiſputable privilege of all mankind, when paying no attention to that principle of their ſeparation, they exert every power to ſubdue all oppoſition to their peculiar modes of conception and truth.

Thus that inert and frozen ſtate of religion, which would attend every individual's following his own ſentiments, is thawed by the fiery activity of a few leaders, runs into currents eternally oppoſing one another and diſturbs the ſtream of publick, worſhip which above all others ought to flow the ſmootheſt: and in proportion as thoſe ſects are various, numerous and powerful, will be their oppoſition to the publick good, and the miſchief to the ſtate which indulges them.

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Could the temporal affairs of government, rightly adminiſtered, be preſerved perfectly diſtinct from thoſe of religion, and the indulgence of thinking and acting in the latter, influence nothing on that obligation, which is due from ſubjects to the laws and conſtitution of the realm that licence might be granted without injury to the ſtate and publick welfare. But ſince religion and government are inſeparably connected, and an uniformity of acting in ſubmiſſion to one as well as the other, ſeem abſolutely neceſſary for attaining the moſt perfect ſyſtem of ſociety, why ſhould men be indulged in the former, ſince all agree to refuſe it in the latter? Why are irreligion and blaſphemy in general paſſed by or ſlightly puniſhed, whilſt miſdemeanor and treaſon are repaid with ſevere chaſtiſement and death? Is the preſervation of religion leſs an object of the ſtate's conſideration, than an attachment to a particular family; and the reverence due to the ſupreme being of leſs importance, than loyalty towards a king? Shall it be allowed to deny, that Chriſt was the ſon of God, and therefore with impunity to aſſert that he has no right to adoration; and yet forbidden to declare that an heir apparent is illegitimate, that he has no title

to the crown; and an oppoſition to him puniſhed with death? From the remiſſneſs with which the one has been treated above the other, ſeem to ſpring innumerable evils, which time hath rendered almoſt irremediable.

In fact, an attachment to the eſtabliſhed church, and an adherence to the conſtitution of the realm, have been for the moſt part companions in the ſame boſoms. Men, who have abſolved themſelves from obedience to the laws of national religion, becauſe they imagine they may decide of them, and act, as they pleaſe, in that reſpect, can difficultly fix a boundary on that ſpot, beyond which they will not paſs. The mind, ſet at liberty from the obligations of the eſtabliſhed worſhip, will hardly be at eaſe under thoſe of government; which muſt in various inſtances appear to be oppreſſive. Thus allegiance to the conſtitution, the only true loyalty, takes wing and follows diſobedience to national religion: and men of that ſtamp will treat the government of the realm with as little ceremony as the eſtabliſh'd church, the firſt moment which offers a promiſe of ſucceſs. They may indeed more readily oppoſe the ordinances of religion, than the ſtatutes of the land; becauſe the puniſhments inflicted

inflicted by the deity for the breach of them may operate leſs, as they ſeem to be more diſtant than thoſe of the ſovereign and the law: but ſuch men will certainly be alike active and rebellious in both inſtances, when they believe themſelves equally ſecure from the latter as the former.

The habit of thinking and acting for ourſelves in matters of a religious nature, when it has once diveſted the mind of that regard, which is naturally paid to things conſidered holy, can ſcarce admit of reſtraint in ſubjects purely human. It creates an extravagant ſelf-ſufficiency by deciding on ſuch things; a levelling ſpirit, which exerts itſelf in continual attempts, to reduce all ſubjects to the rules which that has delineated. And though liberty of conſcience in religious opinions, and ſerving God in their own way, may form the pretence and begin the cry for reformation, thoſe, who in a government like this, where kings are the ſupreme magiſtrates, would new-model the articles of faith and modes of worſhip; who would diveſt religion of all pomp and ſplendor, excommunicate every object, which can create in the ſenſes and imagination ideas worthy of that God, from thoſe temples where he is more immediately ſuppoſed to dwell,

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who, becauſe Chriſt was born in a ſtable, would reduce all churches to four bare walls; and becauſe his diſciples were fiſhermen, have no prieſts but the moſt ſervile and illiterate of the people; under the notion of returning, to primitive chriſtianity; will certainly proceed in ſtripping crowns and ſceptres from kings, with every emblem of magnificence and power; becauſe primævally there were no ſovereigns, and all men were born with equal right to authority.

To the deity, at leaſt during childhood, they muſt probably have been taught to pay reverence, and think that every object, which can expreſs the ſenſe of his power and their dependance, is due to him; theſe original impreſſions operate ſo ſtrongly on the human heart, that it ſeems next to impoſſible to prevent them from being viſible in all men, which if they can be eraſed by time, or other cauſes, will ſcarce permit the trappings of royalty and attachment to the conſtitution, ſecondary conſiderations and never inculcated with equal energy to the former, to remain behind. Will thoſe, who reſcind all external marks of acknowledgment to the ſupreme creator, preſerve them for their fellow creatures? Is ſuch conduct agreeable to the texture and conformation of the human mind? Then

There are few men however ambitious who revere the eſtabliſhed religion of their country, that will conſent to ſubvert the conſtitution of the ſtate to obtain power: but there never has exiſted either individual or ſect, whoſe principle it was that they had a right to new-model the national church, according to their own opinions, who were not perſuaded that ſomething ſimilar ought to be done in the government; and would not as readily have exerted themſelves to oppoſe civil as eccleſiaſtical authority, and deſtroy the the conſtitution of the ſtate as of the church.

The analogy between theſe two is ſo extremely prevalent and natural, it is ſcarce poſſible they can be divided. Thoſe, who cannot bear the oppreſſion of being obliged to ſubſcribe to the eſtabliſhed religion, becauſe it does not coincide with their conceptions of religious ordinances, and therefore preſume to form a worſhip peculiar to themſelves, can never for the ſame reaſon be at eaſe under any ſyſtem of laws, which they have not inſtituted, it being impoſſible but ſome will appear oppreſſive in particular inſtances, they will think themſelves but partially free. The burthen of the latter will be ſupported with more diſquietude and pain, becauſe it is felt on one

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portion of the mind only, and be more troubleſome than a greater ſpread equally on the whole body; the parts at eaſe creating, by the contraſt, a ſtronger ſenſation of ſuffering in the oppreſſed.

But as diſobedience to ſovereigns is more ſtrictly watched, and more certainly puniſhed upon earth, than rebellion againſt heaven, becauſe it is more immediately the intereſt of magiſtrates than thoſe who miniſter in holy things, to ſuperintend the behaviour of the ſubject, and the power of ſtateſmen is much more cloſely connected with their ſovereign than their God, men, who deviſe the ſubverſion of a ſtate will not dare openly to avow their intentions. Something, which may plead a plauſible excuſe, muſt be therefore invented to effectuate it with leſs danger. Hence the captivating term of liberty of conſcience, impoſing upon the multitude, and carrying great conviction of it's reaſonableneſs by appealing to their feelings, which beſt palliate and conceals the deſigns of rebellion againſt the ſtate, under the ſanctimonious pretence of ſeeking their own ſalvation is urged as the motive to their actions: by this means the moſt execrable of all hypocriſies will be engender'd and propagated that can exiſt amongſt men, and the greateſt

crime

neſs; which, ſurrounding all their actions, keeps the fire of ſedition pent up within their boſoms, undiſcovered but by few, till their minds are rendered the moſt atrocious and daring.

In this way they perſiſt enliſting numbers to the ſame purpoſe, the name Jehovah written on the banners of Satan, till time and fanaticiſm have ſpread the contagion on the populace, and the ripeneſs of their miſchief inſtructs them to pull off the diſguiſe. Then it is the enmity to the conſtitution, however diſcordant the ſectaries may be in their other opinions, unites them to deſtroy both church and ſtate; this being the great deſign in which they cordially agree, and the firſt objects from which they moſt ardently deſire to be freed. Accordingly they take arms, and enter into open rebellion; redreſs of grievances forming the pretext for an undertaking which unquell'd muſt terminate in the ruin of the conſtitution, and in eſtabliſhing a republic.

Affairs being carried to this exceſs, the ſpirit of reformation will not yet be at reſt; as the above ſubverſion ariſes from different cauſes, united only in one action, theſe motives to union now no longer ſubſiſting, the different

opinions of thoſe ever reſtleſs ſeceders will divide each ſect from the other as effectually, as in the beginning the whole was ſeperated from the religion and government of their native land: and the ſame reſolution of being exempted from all obligation of obedience to each other's doctrines will operate as ſtrongly in their boſoms, as it did to create a rebellion againſt the legal eſtabliſhment. Thus an averſion for each other will be generated, which begets alſo mutual attempts to attain an abſolute independency, and deſtroy the republic as it had the former conſtitution. For as the nature of independency is to be freed from all competitors, and never to be at reſt whilſt any thing oppoſes it's inclination, circumſtances cannot remain long in that ſtate, but infinite ſtruggles to arbitary power muſt be the conſequence of them, as the ſole means of acquiring abſolute independency, to which it always tends, and in which it muſt ultimately conclude in all ſuch undertakings.

During theſe Times of turmoil and diſcord, the ſpirit of reformation ſleeps not, whilſt any thing remains to be changed or rejected: but being ſet afloat is ſtill carried on by the current of capricious fanaticiſm. Another ſect preaching

peace

peace and non-reſiſtance, pureneſs of heart and ſimplicity of manners, as ſeductive lures to men in continual broils, naturally ſprings from this diſtracted ſtate of things, which alike renounces all articles of faith and modes of worſhip, forms of law and human inſtitutions, truſting to the ſpirit for their guide; from this there is but one ſtep to open infidelity and libertiniſm.

In this manner from the very nature of religious reformation, and the inſeparable analogy which it has with affairs of ſtate; modes of worſhip and articles of faith, human laws and forms of government, will be ſo changed and mangled by the frantick heads of fanaticks, 'till nothing remains in chriſtianity which is to be received as ſacred, nor in the conſtitution as right; and that, which had for ages in the aggregate been conſidered as holy and obligatory, will become in it's different parts impious and erroneous; and religion and the laws without influence and energy. Thus from inattention to the true method, or from too ardent a zeal for ſuppreſſing hereſies, that tree, originally deſigned a defence in ſtorms and inclemencies of ſeaſons, which before the reformation had ſpread too wide, excluded the genial ſunſhine, and ſtarved the plants which grew

beneath it, inſtead of being pruned of it's exceſs, and reduced to utility, had it's head, ſpreading boughs, and glory, entirely cut off; from which ſhot innumerable branches without uſe or beauty; whilſt the trunk remained rotting at the heart, from the corroſion which was let in upon it, and the plants withering beneath, without ſhade or ſhelter.

In all religious reformation, the great difficulties conſiſt in diſtinguiſhing what to reſcinde, and in withholding the ſpirit of reforming by a boundary which may fix it's frantick impulſe.

For though religion, like a pile of exquiſite architecture, may by injudicious hands be overloaded with Gothick ornaments and horrid figures, concealing it's true ſymmetry and original beauty, and even, threatning to bring it to the ground by their unweildy weight; yet to prevent it's ruin would it not be very indiſcreet to looſen the foundations, when the incumbrance ſhould be only removed for the preſervation of the building.

It appears to me, that in extirpating whatever are deemed non-eſſentials in the form of an eſtabliſhed church, men have been guided by fallacious rules: they have taken it for granted, that

whatever was to be found in the worſhip of the Roman Catholics muſt be rank idolatry; and therefore no pauſe was to be made, 'till all of that kind was eradicated: not conſidering that the ſenſes, imagination and paſſions, being faculties of the mind, ſtand in need of being captivated, warmed and incited, to ſuſtain devotion; and that the fire, which begins in the devout boſom from a ray of a crucified Jeſus in marble, paſſing from the inanimate ſtatue, thro' the penitent, reaches him who is immortal in the heavens.

In like manner, in articles of faith, they ſeem to have been equally miſtaken. Thoſe myſteries which they could not explain, they have concluded could not exiſt, and rejected them as contradictory to reaſon, meaning abſolute reaſon, though no other than their own imperfect faculty had been employed in the reſearch.

In this, have they not miſapplied the rule by which myſteries ſhould be examined? Or, to preſerve the analogy which runs through all our faculties, ought they not, in like manner, to renounce the evidence of eye-ſight, becauſe they cannot explain how objects become of one colour rather than another, and in what manner the eye perceives them? The objects both of faith and

the ſenſes are taken off intuitively, and the truth of them conſiſts in their being embraced by the mind with much energy, and not in ſkill of inferences and degrees of probability. He that ſees an object, tho' he cannot explain the cauſe of viſion, will ſcarce be argued out of his eye-ſight; and thoſe who ſteadfaſtly believe in the chriſtian religion, animated by the ſublime idea of God's omnipotence, and rapt into ecſtaſy at the intereſting idea of a Saviour-Diety dying to give them life immortal, will feel the reſpective impreſſions, too energic to be overcome by arguments derived from what is denominated reaſon in other men.

Inſtead then of excluding all objects which captivate the ſenſes, and of reſearches after the manner in which the myſterious articles of religion have exiſted, and of renouncing them becauſe impoſſible to be explained to our conceptions; does not reaſon pronounce, that the ſenſes and faith, being in the original formation implanted in man, will vindicate to themſelves their proper objects? and that it is the buſineſs of the legiſlator in planning a religion to inſtitute, and the reformer in pruning to leave, ſuch particular circumſtances in worſhip, and ſuch articles of faith, for the exerciſe

of

of thoſe faculties, that the individuals chuſe not amiſs by an ill-judged indulgence. The rational enquiry therefore is not to diſcover by what means the firſt may influence, and the latter may have exiſted, but whether they tend to animate the mind in acts of devotion towards heaven, and duty to their fellow-creatures; and experience will evince that, without the appointment of the legiſlature, men will ſelect improper objects for themſelves, and that the publick tranquility and the good of ſociety require a uniformity in the religion of a ſtate. Wherefore ſince no power of argument is able to obliterate either the ſenſes or the faith from the human underſtanding, the objects which conduce moſt effectually to the well conducting mankind by influencing thoſe faculties, cannot but be right and true in reaſon, as they are in nature, and ought to conſtitute a great part of all religious inſtitution. It is notwithſtanding evident that error, tho' of a different nature ſeems to have ſpread itſelf equally with reſpect to the inſtitution and reformation of religion.

In the firſt not being bounded by limits as it ought, deſigning men, knowing how apt the ſenſes, paſſions, imagination, and faith, are to be delighted, and enthralled, created thoſe objects,

jects, which, inſtead of ſuſtaining the mind by their juſt proportions of energy, drown'd it in the abyſs of ſuperſtition; by which means, religion was debaſed by the multitude of falſe inventions; and men enſlaved, rather than improved by it's energick influence.

In the progreſs of the reformation, has not the oppoſite extreme taken place? A propenſity too prevalent in men; and were not proper means neglected, to fix the place beyond which it ſhould not paſs; without which religion ſoon runs either into ridiculouſneſs or infidelity, thro' want of proper objects to engage the various faculties of the ſoul.

To me it appears that the methods hitherto taken to ſuppreſs the growth of ſects, have been extremely ill judged. Puniſhments with death and acts of cruelty create an averſion for him, who inflicts, and for the cauſe, which induced him to that cruelty, both which eternally reſiſt an inclination to conformity. Even thoſe, who were untouched by the fanatick impulſe of ſeceding, are caught by the magic influence of faith to believe that ſomething in itſelf truly tending to ſalvation muſt exiſt in that manner of thinking, which can ſupport mankind to die, with reſolu-

tion

tion, amidſt the tortures of fire; and a reverence for the ſufferers operates ſo powerfully alſo in the boſoms of ſuch ſpectators, that the very puniſhment, which was intended to ſuppreſs communicates the enthuſiaſm.

The other extreme has alſo taken place in this inſtance; and acquieſcence with every ſpawning ſect has been conceived to be the moſt effectual prevention to ſuppreſs the increaſe of ſchiſmatics; an error equally fatal, and perhaps, in the ſtrict enquiry, equally cruel with the former. Acquieſcence in all things acts like a ſecret encouragement, and naturally effects, in the minds of thoſe in ſuch a ſtate, a conviction that they are conſidered as doing right, becauſe they are not forbidden by the ſupreme power: and from this cauſe it is too viſible, how the latter ſectaries increaſe in number.

But had ſome mark of contempt been originally affixed to all thoſe who deviated from the eſtabliſhed church, long before this hour there had not been a ſingle ſectary; the old had been worn out, and no new converts created by a cauſe in diſgrace. The Deiſts, who, if they could be of any religion, ought to unite with the Jews, never aſſociate with that tribe, becauſe

they are held in contempt; and the latter, in many countries, diſtinguiſhed by a ſmall garment of a particular colour, are prevented from making converts.

The poor of England, who think indigence no crime, deteſt the pariſh badge, which expreſſes their condition; and many have deſerted the habit of idleneſs, not to get rid of poverty, but from the reproach of being marked.

Had a green ſtocking, a yellow cap, or other mark of that nature, been the neceſſary conſequence of ſeceding, and affixed to every ſectary at the reformation, the eſtabliſhed church had remained entire to this time; all thoſe oceans of blood, which have deluged the land in various rebellions ſince that hour, had been preſerved; and this kingdom in a ſtate of proſperity beyond the other nations of the earth. So great are the effects of badges, that we cannot diveſt ourſelves from paying reſpect to a Ribband, ſuppoſed to be an honourable diſtinction, though it croſſes the boſom of a Reprobate, nor him from thinking himſelf a man of honor; and no ſect can ſubſiſt beneath the weight of an ignominious mark, though in fact it ſhould be no heavier than a feather.

It

It is hardly to be doubted, but that lord Clarendon, who required no more than the knowledge of reigning principles to diſcern what muſt be their conſequences to the ſtate, whoſe great intuitive perception ſtretched his views a long way into futurity, had he lived in the reign of Edward the Sixth, would have foreſeen the pernicious effects of that licentious indulging of individuals to think and act for themſelves concerning matters of religion.

What then has hitherto been ſaid, may be preſumed to be the ſcanty outlines of thoſe arguments, on which he founded his manner of thinking and acting.

Indeed, at the time when he became firſt active in his country's cauſe, the progreſs to perdition was far advanced; and he lived to ſee the ſectaries, which at firſt requeſted no more than liberty of conſcience to ſerve God in their own way, paſs through every degree, creeping from the humble requeſt, to become rampant in the unbounded impudence of fanaticiſm, and at length to declare from their pulpits, 'That the king was obliged in conſcience to conform himſelf and his own underſtanding to the advice and conſcience of his par-

liament:' denying their ſovereign that very right, which every audacious cobler, in his fanatic ſcheme, inſiſted upon to be his undoubted privilege, and perverting every text of ſcripture into avowed rebellion.

He then ſaw the oppoſers to the tyranny of the Council-table and Star-chamber, unſatisfied with their abolition, and the gracious conceſſions which king Charles had made; ſtill propoſing new grievances, yet reſolved not to acquieſce with the redreſs of any, by ſucceſsful ſtrides quit the eſtabliſhed government, advance thro' republicaniſm and independency to finiſh in the murder of their ſovereign and the conſtitution. He ſaw the tyranny of an uſurper the moſt ſingular that the earth hath to this day produced, whoſe genius, tho' not the moſt exalted, was yet much better adapted to ſucceed, in ſuch moments, than that of a more extenſive nature. The imagination of Cromwell never carried him into ſchemes of acquiring power, which often by partial conception, or precipitancy, croſſing the ſtrait path in which things would naturally have paſſed, diſturbs their motion, and frequently diſappoints the ambition of the active and projecting. He waited patiently on the ſhore, till the current

current of occaſion brought on events which were favourable to his purpoſes; in diſtinguiſhing, ſeizing, and turning which to his advantage, no man has excelled him. Reſolute beyond example to put every circumſtance in execution, no danger intimidated him from his deſigns. Secret as the midnight hour, no thought eſcaped his lips, which could divulge or fruſtrate his intentions. The tyranny of his heart was covered with a maſk of ſuch external ſanctity, that the hypocriſy effectually impoſed on the enthuſiaſm of thoſe who were engaged with him; creating an expreſſion in his features, which has not yet been equalled in the viſage of any other human being. And it is remarkable alſo, that the leaders of the ſame party were diſtinguiſhed by ſuch phyſiognomies, as no other age or nation has produced; nor is it to be wonder'd at, formed as they were, from ſuch contradictory cauſes, diſſembled holineſs, and Satanic ambition in ſincerity, acting on the muſcles of their countenances; by which mixture they looked more hideous than abandoned rebellion could have framed them; like the head of Satan, ſurrounded with the rays of a celeſtial glory, more infernal by the contraſt: For to what other cauſes can ſuch expreſſion of

features

features be aſcribed, but to thoſe contraſting ſentiments operating upon them? Or did nature deviate from her uſual track to form ſuch men, on purpoſe to prove how near human kind may approach to demons?

The illuſtrious author beheld alſo, in another line ſtarting from the ſame center, the ſpirit of reformation, which exclaimed againſt adoration at the foot of a crucifix as rank idolatry, and denying the real preſence as antichriſtian, engender freſh ſects, like the polypus her young, the moſt unorganized of all moving things, which ſtart from the ſide of each other, dropping off when mature enough to ſuſtain themſelves. Theſe he ſaw by degrees ſtripping the Chriſtian temples of becoming ornaments; the public worſhip of due reverence to the ſupreme Being, and the eſtabliſhed religion of the articles of our Creed, run thro' the various ſchiſms of Preſbyterian, Anabaptiſt, Quaker; where four bare walls formed a temple for the Almighty, and the public worſhip conſiſted in a dead ſilence, or in a clamorous and frantic outrage, pouring forth nonſenſe, abſurdity, and profaneneſs, and lyingly aſcribing all thoſe to that pure ſpirit of holineſs, which can dictate nothing but piety, truth and reaſon,

ſon. In this manner religion was left without ſacraments, and probably without one article of faith, whilſt the unconquerable pride of the profeſſors of it, ſcorning to bow the knee to God or man, by the undeviating perſeverance of reſolutely applying the religious liberty of conſcience, even for committing things criminal againſt the public good, preſerved them from the civil obligation of taking oaths, and bearing arms in defence of that conſtitution of which they pretend to form a part, of which they aſk protection, and which defends them; indulgences granted to no other ſect, nor to be inſtanced in any other government or religion which hath ever exiſted.

Predeſtination, which naturally tends to make the minds of men acquieſcing with the events of things, at that time ſerved but to inflame the paſſions of thoſe enthuſiaſts, and give vigor to their reſolves by the impious concluſion which they drew that whatever their vicious inclinations prompted them to do was right, and ordained of heaven; and that benignant duty of prayer, which, in the Chriſtian dictates, teaches men to aſk their daily bread, expreſs their calamities to the All-ſeeing, eaſe their hearts of woe and oppreſſion,

and

and riſe from their knees with complacency and comfort, was converted into that ſacrilegious pretext of ſeeking the Lord, preſuming to have received his approbation in every deed they intended, ſanctifying their horrid purpoſes by that hypocriſy, and then perpetrating ſuch as even the devil would bluſh to dictate

In this manner, from the murdered conſtitution in church and ſtate (which proceeded equally together) from the licentious indulgence in thinking and acting for themſelves in religions concerns, lord Clarendon beheld the pernicious tribes of ſchiſmatics engendered, which crawling like maggots from the carcaſe of ſome noble animal, devoured the very being, which in infancy gave them food and reſidence; loathſome and deteſtable to all men, who wiſhed well to ſociety and their native land.

Cromwell being dead, and his ſon Richard ſucceeding him, a man abſolutely unequal to the taſk of preſerving that deſpotiſm which his father had bequeathed him; that dread of the uſurper, which had held by its magic chain the tumultuous ſpirits of the ſectaries in ſubjection, was diſſolved, and all were burſting again from their cells like waſps, in noiſy murmurings, ready to dart their

ſtings

ſtings into thoſe who oppoſed them. Had he returned the ſovereignty to whom it belonged, as Sylla did to the Romans, and reſtored the conſtitution, like him Richard had been immortal.

The Preſbyterians eſtabliſhed in the church, who had exerted the tyranny of Preſbytery beyond that of the hierarchy which they had pulled down, longed to reinſtate their parliamentary democracy, but they were withheld by the Independents, who, collecting the ſordid remains of their parliament, formed that chaos of national power, which was called the Rump. Theſe deeming themſelves the legiſlative body, aſſumed an authority over all the others; but the military, divided by profeſſion, though compoſed like them, of Independents, from the principle inſeparable from independency, were reſolved to oppoſe that deſign, and arrogate all ſovereignty to themſelves. Each of theſe parties preſumed the ſame thing, and no one being able to get the aſcendant over the reſt, it concluded in greater hatred for each others authority, than for that of the exiled king, and the return of the old conſtitution.

The church of England, from principle, naturally wiſhed for that happy moment, and even the Roman catholics expected more indulgence under ſuch a circumſtance, than they had enjoyed in the times of the republic and Cromwell's uſurpation.

All was anarchy and confuſion. Happy for England there was then in exile, a Charles Stuart to reſtore the conſtitution of the realm, and peace to the individuals; whoſe return the neceſſity of circumſtances, and the mutual impotence of the ſectaries ſingly to obtain the ſovereignty, propitiouſly produced.

Charles being reſtored to the throne of his father, earl Clarendon, the illuſtrious author of the following hiſtory, and ſteady friend to his country's cauſe, returned with him, firſt in favour, and chief in underſtanding.

But though the fire of fanaticiſm was a little ſubdued in each party, it was far from being extinguiſhed; each ſect expected pleniary indulgence, till opportunity ſhould offer an occaſion again to blaze abroad in full fury. The Preſbyterians, who had expelled the eccleſiaſtics of the national church, and rebelliouſly poſſeſſed themſelves of their livings, expected moſt conſcientiouſly

tiouſly to remain undiſturbed in thoſe emoluments, and their own become the eſtabliſhed religion; excluding the ancient worſhip from being reſtored, and the paſtors of it from bread, whilſt all the other ſectaries required an indulgence in the open profeſſion of their opinions. The army was to be paid their arrears; diſbanded; diveſted of their natural turbulence, and lulled into tranquillity.

Religion ſtood in need of conformity, decency, and ſincerity of heart, and the laws of being juſtly put in execution. All, who had ſuffered in the civil war by their loyalty to their ſovereign, expected ſome retaliation for thoſe properties of which they had been plundered by the parliament and the uſurper. Scotland was no leſs fertile in difficulties, which were to be overcome, to obtain peace and obedience; and the various claims of the Iriſh offered an intricacy, which was ſcarce leſs than impoſſible to be unravelled and adequately adjuſted.

Such was the ſtate of affairs at the Reſtoration; requiring the greateſt degree of underſtanding, love of juſtice, and unſhaken reſolution, finally to ſettle.

Few men amongſt the wiſeſt nations have equalled the earl of Clarendon in extent of capacity. Fewer of ſuch ſuperior underſtanding have been ſelected to the ſuperintendency of national concerns; and much leſs have ever poſſeſſed the faculties of the ſoul in ſuch equipoiſe of excellence, without enfeebling the energy of each other, or one getting the ſovereignty over the reſt. Though the hate, which he had conceived againſt the ſectaries, was juſtly founded on their execrable principles, and the miſchiefs they had produced, and his love for the church of England, on the attachment which it had manifeſted to the conſtitution, the aptneſs which it hath to produce ſuch principles, and its analogy to the nature of the government; yet this averſion from that tribe, and their uſurpation, had never driven him into the oppoſite extreme of adopting abſolute monarchy; and though he faithfully adhered to, and had conſtantly ſerved kings as his ſovereigns, he never departed from the cauſe of liberty, and preſerving a limited authority in the crown.

He condemned the extenſive power of the Council-table and the Star-chamber in the beginning of the reign of Charles the Firſt, be-

cauſe

cauſe illegal and arbitrary. In like manner conſiſtent in principle, at the reſtoration he oppoſed the ſettling a revenue of two millions on Charles the Second, to prevent the deſire (ſo natural to ſovereigns) of proceeding in wars and other concerns of moment, without the conſent of the people's repreſentatives, from being carried into action. He ſtill preferred the preſervation of the conſtitution to the encreaſing power in his maſter, and ſtability of himſelf as miniſter: and choſe that the king ſhould rather feel himſelf in ſome degree dependent on the good-will of his people, than independent, on their ſupplies, be tempted by abundance to waſte their blood, ſacrifice their treaſure, and invade the liberties and privileges of his ſubjects; alike ſtrenuous for the king's prerogative and the ſubjects rights.

No man ſaw into the diſtant effects of preſent cauſes, or the fatal conſequences of deſtructive principles, more perſpicuouſly than the lord chancellor Clarendon: which powers rendered him the fitteſt ſtateſman to fix whatever might conduce to make the conſtitution ſtable and propitious; a genius of infinite ſuperiority to that which conſtitutes the mere man of equity.

No

No man knew the deference which was due from an inferior to his ſovereign, better than lord Clarendon: yet, he never forgot in his obedience to majeſty, that though a ſubject, he was yet a freeman; and, tho' he received his exaltation from the king, that he was ſtill the ſervant of the people. For theſe reaſons, he neither menaced his ſovereign with deſerting him in times of danger, nor preferred adulation before good counſel in his advices, in order to obtain power; nor, during the moſt zealous ſervices to two princes, did he ever fully, by complaiſance to humour, miſtaken judgment, or ſome more culpable deſign, that reverence which was only ſacred to the conſtitution.

As his expectations were honourably founded on the ſervices which he might render to the ſtate, on thoſe alone, and not in foſtering the king's inclinations, he planned the deſign of his advancement, and fixed the baſis of his fame.

Formed with complaiſance for virtue alone, he ſteadily aſſerted, that crowns afforded no pret xt for criminal meaſures; and that royalty could not alter the ignominious ideas, which were originally intended to accompany vice.

No

No man diſtinguiſhed the different degrees of mens capacity, with preciſion equal to the noble writer of the following volumes. He knew the limits of their underſtanding, and what they were able to conceive; the reſolutions of their hearts, and what they were equal to the accompliſhing; and therefore was peculiarly happy in the power of ſelecting, and applying to their proper ſtations, thoſe which government abſolutely ſtands in need of, to preſerve honor, and derive proſperity to itſelf; almoſt the chieſeſt qualification of a ſtateſman, and the moſt uſeful to the ſtate. This truth ſeems to be incontrovertibly evinced from that perſpicuity, with which he penetrated the characters of his cotemporaries.

Being born a gentleman, and holding money in contempt, he was utterly incapable of meanneſs or corruption; vices ſo intimately connected with a baſe original and avaritious diſpoſition. At the ſame time, deeming the honor and welfare of his country inviolably ſacred, he never preferred to embaſſies, the command of fleets and armies, men unequal to their reſpective duties.

Clarendon ſaw truth and right by intuition, and the effect which they ought to have in deciſions of equity.

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The ſovereign, who neglected his people's welfare, was doubly culpable in his eyes, from the greater miſchief which muſt follow ſuch delinquency. In conſequence of this manner of conceiving things, no minion of the court found acceptance in his ſight, who, by the enticements of wit, licentious raillery, or foſtering the ruling paſſion of his prince, ſeduced him from the means of rendering the nation great and happy.

Though bred in courts, he dared not to diſguiſe, and he could not be ſilent, when the national affairs were neglected. He held it for a ſacred rule, that the money levied on the people, ought to be ſpent in their ſervice only: and undoubtedly, had Charles the Second under a diſtinct title from that of king of England, been the deſpotic lord of continental ſlaves and continental dominions; had he maintained with Engliſh money armies fighting in their cauſe, whilſt his coffers were avaritiouſly crammed with treaſure levied on them and this people, lord Clarendon would have told him, that Engliſhmen were born to be free, and not vaſſals doomed to labour for foreign lands and foreign princes, to the ruin of themſelves

ſelves and progeny. His lips in parliament would have oppoſed ſuch unnational ſquanderings; his heart revoked allegiance to ſo unworthy a ſovereign, and mourned the day of his aſcending the throne of his father.

As the hope of exaltation never prompted him to ſiniſter actions, ſo the dread of falling from the honours he had deſerved, never induced him to deviate from the purſuit of national advantage. The laws were his rules of action; nor did he ever promote ſuch as by their power would enable him to deſtroy the conſtitution, under that ſpecious guiſe of being made by the people's repreſentatives; to riſe or fall by virtue were his fixed reſolves; and he conſtantly preferred being juſt to being acceptable.

As the neceſſary reſult of ſuch diſpoſition, his thirſt of fame was undoubtedly great; yet not to be ſated by luſcious draughts of popular applauſe, but from the bleſſings of a righteous adminiſtration ſpread upon his fellow-ſubjects in whoſe welfare he delighted, and from the internal ſenſations of a mind conſcientiouſly right.

Parſimonious of the public revenues, he beheld, with ſincere concern, the profuſion which

attended the national adminiſtration, and frequently interpoſed between the king's too great liberality, and the inſatiate deſire of receiving in too many favourites.

So highly did he conceive of thoſe titles, which kings can beſtow, that he held it a profanation of the royal power to ſquander them on the unworthy: and in each inſtance reſpecting himſelf, accepted, with reluctance, what no ſtateſman did ever more righteouſly deſerve, leſt he might be deemed rather a miniſter actuated by mercenary motives, than by the deſire of propagating the public good. From ſuch behaviour it was no wonder he became offenſive to the greedy and ambitious.

Steady in his allegiance to the royal family of Stuart, he became the willing partaker of their ſufferings. He ſcorned to live beneath the ſway of an uſurper, whilſt his ſovereign was in exile and diſtreſs: and his whole powers were exerted, during that time, to reinſtate his royal maſter. During thoſe years of ſeverity, he neceſſarily became inſtructed in the different intereſts of foreign courts, as intimately as he had been with thoſe of England; which union can only complete the miniſter.

Nor

Nor were his principles in religion and government only founded on the juſteſt examination of thoſe ſubjects. His friendſhips were, in like manner, contracted on long intimacy and knowledge of thoſe, with whom he was united. Reaſon, ſimilar ſentiments, and virtuous motives, formed the union of him and his friends. They were ſteady to him, and he to them.

It muſt be confeſſed, his paſſions, in ſome particulars, were rather impetnous: but it muſt be recollected alſo, what were the objects of them. As he loved his country beyond all things, he ſaw its injuries with great indignation; and conſequently that hatred, which he ever cheriſhed againſt Presbyterians, and other ſectaries in England and Scotland, became a juſtifiable paſſion. He had been the continual witneſs of their implacable purſuits to raviſh power by blood and rapine; and ſeen even that violation rendered more deteſtable, by their ſacrilegiouſly avowing religion to be the impious cauſe of their rebellion againſt the conſtitution, denominating the murder of their lawful ſovereign an act of piety, to inthrone king Jeſus in his dominion of righteouſneſs. Notwithſtanding this averſion to the deſtroyers of his country, the mi-

niſter never influenced the man of equity; as lord high chancellor his decrees were untainted with partiality; hatred did not aggravate, nor affection ſoften the juſtice of his deciſions; neither did he, on the ſeat of judgment, know there was either a churchman or Presbyterian, a friend or foe, a royaliſt or rebel.

Hypocriſy, that vice inſeparable from the ſectaries, was the peculiar object of his deteſtation; and perhaps he carried this abhorrence even too far, for the manners of all courts. His penetration was not to be deceived by any diſguiſe; and though he might not always diſcern the true motive of it, he knew that hideous maſk invariably concealed ſome ſiniſter deſign; and therefore he loathed the heart, which lay in ambuſh to do miſchief, and ſhunned the poſſeſſor.

From this ſteadineſs to integrity, he knew not to cover his face with ſmiles of approbation, at the preſence of the king's harlot; and he thought it a diſgrace to make, or to ſecure intereſt, to ſerve himſelf, or his friends, through the polluted channel of a concubine's aſcendency; making no diſtinction, where law and religion have made none, between the whoredom of the royal bed and the common bagnio, unleſs in his greater diſap-

disapprobation of the former. He thought a king the most fallen of all human creatures, who, neglecting the publick good, spent his hours in the delights of dalliance, the dupe of lasciviousness, the slave of women, and disgrace of royalty: and it was his constant wish, that the lure of lewdness might at least desert his master, before old age should render more despicable that failing, for which youth did, in some opinions, plead an excuse. For what object can be more truly contemptible, than a libidinous old king dallying in wantonness, his grey head royally reclining on the bosom of his concubine, his face covered with the wrinkled leer of salacious impotence; whilst his people are running, by maladministration and neglect, to that ruin, which he only can, and it is his duty to prevent?

If female favourites found no countenance in the eyes of lord Clarendon, pimps, panders, sycophants, and flatterers, however dignified with the superb appellations of barons, viscounts, earls, marquisses and dukes, were not less disgustful and detested. He considered them as the public bane, and beheld them through the medium of their actions, and not of their titles. Their degeneracy

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was his contempt; and he thought, neither deſcent nor creation could really ennoble thoſe, whoſe actions were a reproach not only to their anceſtors, but to human nature, and who had forfeited all claim to honour by the moſt ignominious behaviour. To thoſe the wrinkled brow, and keen eye of diſpleaſure, ſpoke his ſentiments of their conduct, when his lips were ſilent; nor did the king himſelf eſcape that honeſt reproof, when he ſaw him negligent or miſguided. So much did he prefer his maſter's eternal fame to his temporary delights, and the good of his country, to every ſelfiſh conſideration. He had planned a ſyſtem of reinſtating the happineſs of England; from which no lure, nor profitable expedient, could tempt him to recede.

He was bred, and truly was, a man of learning, with talents every way adapted to improve this beſt foundation, the very times in which he lived, afforded a power of experience in human nature, rarely to be found at any other æra. Scarce a virtue, or a vice, which did not then reign in full powers, as well as diſſimulation in extreme, to imitate the firſt, and conceal the latter. Every faculty of the ſoul was exerted in its full

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ſtretch, to accompliſh its different purſuits; and every ſenſation ſtrenuouſly engaged by the full variety of objects which employed them. By means of theſe, as he had ample opportunity and abilities to analyze the human mind, he became intimately acquainted with its compoſition; and in conſequence of ſuch a combination of underſtanding and occaſion, no writer has excelled him in the characters which he has drawn. Neglecting the qualities which are in common to all men, he marked his portraits with thoſe diſtinctions which characterize one perſon from another. Their virtues and vices, their ſtrength and weakneſs, have the proper lights and ſhades diſtributed upon them, in ſo ſkillful a manner, that inconſiſtency does not imply contradiction, praiſe impart flattery, nor diſapprobation convey malice. His friends he knew, were men, however exalted, and he never diſguiſed their failings: and from his enemies, however abandoned, he never excluded their deſerts. Amongſt his other excellencies, that are requiſite eſſential to an hiſtorian, veracity was inſeparable from his pen. And as few have ever written, whoſe powers of conception and opportunities of being truly informed, were equal

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to thoſe of this noble author, ſo in none are the motives to action, the cauſes of ſucceſs and miſadventure, ſo diſtinctly aſſigned and ſo faithfully delineated; leaving to unforeſeen incidents the production of many events, fatal to his ſovereign, and propitious to his ſubjects in rebellion; at the ſame time aſcribing to the wiſdom, valour, and prudence of man, ſufficient to ſatisfy the vanity of his nature, and reſting the ultimate of all on the will of Providence.

His ſtile has in general been thought culpable by the length of its periods; but it ought to be remembered alſo, that his ſenſe was of the moſt comprehenſive kind, not eaſily to be incloſed in ſhort ſentences, nor, like the preſent pointed turn of ſentiment, to be included in an epigrammatic phraſe, which rather pleaſes by its conceit, than excellence. His diction was ſtrong where it was required, and pathetic, as it becomes an hiſtorian; not moving tears by the ſtealing tenderneſs which is adapted to the incidents of a novel; but by greatneſs of expreſſion in the facts, which he relates, drying up the ſources of that commiſerating fluid. The narrative of his hiſtory is clear and explicit, the expreſſions apt, and the images greatly conceived, ſublimely expreſſed, and totally

tally void of all thoſe minuteneſſes, which attend an inferior capacity; which, however the many may admire, are by no means the marks of genius. His imagery, like the Grecian architecture, conſiſted in ſimplicity, ſtrength, and proportion, decorated with becoming ornaments, into which the Gothic ſcrolls, unmeaningly and luxuriantly applied, found no admiſſion.

Such were the abilities and diſpoſitions of Edward earl of Clarendon, lord high chancellor of England, equal in power and reſolution to the accompliſhing every requiſite, which this land then ſtood in need of to make it permanently happy; but the defeat of all thoſe excellencies ſprang from an unexpected quarter, before he had perfectly accompliſhed it.

Charles the Second, whilſt his heart had been depreſſed by the weight of exile and diſtreſs, had made frequent vows of ruling like a good king, if Heaven ſhould reſtore him to his father's realm, and planned many a ſcheme to render this nation happy: but ſince the reſtoration had removed that weight, which hung ſo heavy upon him, his mind returned to its original form; and the ſprings of his ruling paſſion, recovering their ſtrength and full liberty of moving, began to

actuate him in purſuits very different from his former reſolves. Pleaſure was his darling object, and the deſire of obtaining that had been greatly inflamed by his former ſufferings; and not to be indulged, was to be no king. The lord chancellor, in exile or at home, in diſtreſs or plenty, plebeian or ennobled, was ſtill the ſame, and his objects of national proſperity remained equally ſtrong and invariable.

As the king grew more open and acceſſible to the allurements of pleaſure, the miniſter beheld him with a more ſevere aſpect; and not unfrequently reproved him by ſome gentle remembrance of his former reſolves. Who can divide the hate of inſtruction from the royal heart, when it tends to oppoſe the pleaſures of the king, and promote the happineſs of the people?

As affliction grew in the boſom of the earl of Clarendon for his maſter's miſtaken conduct, diſſatisfaction encreaſed in the heart of Charles at being ſeen by the chancellor. He was an eternal revocation of his breach of promiſe, whilſt he ſtood before him; a virtuous reproach which the reprobate heart of power cannot bear. He recalled to his mind paſt reſolves of virtue, which the king deſired to have drowned in everlaſting oblivion,

oblivion, and checked that impulſe to libidinous delight, that futile and lafcivious converſation which Charles preferred to legiſlative wiſdom and conſiderations on the public good. As the neceſſary effect of theſe alterations, lord Clarendon became offenſive to the eyes of that king, whoſe whole powers of rewarding were ſcarce equal to that gratitude, which he ſhould have manifeſted to the chancellor.

This difference of behaviour in Charles towards his miniſter had been obſerved at its natal hour, and from that time aſſiduouſly nurſed by thoſe ſycophants who miniſtered to the king's pleaſures, and thoſe miſtreſſes who ruled his deſires; they knew their pernicious ſchemes would never take place whilſt the virtue of lord Clarendon ſtood in oppoſition to their intrigues, and in defence of this land. Every act of inſidious cunning, the depreciating talent of mimickry, the falſe colouring of wit, the blaſt of falſhood, and the deceit of miſrepreſentation, were exerted and exhauſted to give virtue the air of ridiculouſneſs, wiſdom the gait of pedantry, and to leſſen the ſtateſman in the king's eyes. Every ſolicitation to illimited purſuits of pleaſure was invented to ſeduce their ſovereign from all atten-

tion to his duty, and to national affairs. By theſe artifices, the king grew ſo conſciouſly uneaſy at the reprehending preſence of the chancellor, and the miniſter's face ſo expreſſive of that concern, which he ſincerely felt on the account of his ſovereign's conduct and the people's welfare, that their preſence became a mutual pain to each other, though ſpringing from motives very different in their natures and deſert.

The king continued reſolute in pleaſure, and liſtened not to the chancellor's advice; the miniſter firm in integrity, untemporiſing with his ſovereign's prevailing paſſions, till the flatterers and female favourites, which infeſted the royal ear, and directed his paſſions, prevailed on Charles to determine on the chancellor's diſmiſſion. In this deſign they were powerfully aſſiſted by all the ſectaries; who, conſcious of having not yet renounced their former maxims, and that lord Clarendon was intimately acquainted with the malevolent diſpoſition of their hearts, united to undo him, whoſe ambition it was to humble them, and preſerve his country.

In fact, the virtues of Clarendon baniſhed him from his native ſoil, which no man ever loved or

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ſerved with more ardor and uprightneſs. With him true patriotiſm retired from this land; with him it expired in exile, and the ghoſt of it has only returned to this iſle, to haunt us with the apprehenſion of impending evil, and diſappoint our expectations.

In the following hiſtory it will be ſeen, with what juſtice this great ſtateſman was treated by his maſter; whether the king was ungrateful, or the miniſter unjuſt; whether he that was condemned to exile, or thoſe that remained in power, were the nation's friends; and the reports of Burnet, Oldmixon, and others of that tribe, will be confirmed or refuted. The impatience of the public in being denied the peruſal of this hiſtory, will now be ſatisfied; and they cannot but remark the difference in the miniſterial conduct of him who wrote it, from all others who have ſucceeded to his important duties.

What were the reaſons which induced his immediate ſucceſſors to keep the manuſcript unpreſented to the world, is not my buſineſs to enquire; but the deſire of doing juſtice to ſo excellent a man, and ſo able a miniſter, to redeem him from the fangs of miſrepreſentation and malice, have induced the editor to bring it

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forth to light; and with this view it was depoſited in the hands of Francis Gwyn, eſq; late ſecretary of war to queen Anne, by the laſt earl of Clarendon; from which copy it is faithfully printed by his ſon. The title of Reflections, upon the moſt material paſſages that happened after the king's reſtoration to the time of the chancellor's baniſhment, &c. which was given to thoſe volumes by the noble author has been preſerved, though no other writings can be ſo perfect a hiſtory of thoſe times, and every word of the manuſcript moſt religiouſly followed, that no imputation of having detracted from the original might fall upon the editor. Molines, 8th day of June, 1672, is written in the firſt page, and the Greek word at the head of it, which is now placed as a motto in the title page.

Culpable as the adminiſtration of thoſe times has been conceived by many to have been, let me intreat them to draw a compariſon with the ſucceeding. It will then be ſeen, that indulgence to the vices of kings has taken place of repreheniion in miniſters, that from twelve hundred thouſand pounds granted as the whole ſupply of one year, as many millions have been unequal to the general ſervice; that our admirals, from

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being the terror, have ſince became the deriſion of Europe; and that a chancellor, amongſt other crimes imputed to his charge, though not one of them has to this day been ſupported by evidence, was baniſhed for having heaped together as enormous, the ſum of forty thouſand pounds. Let thoſe, who condemn the ſale of Dunkirk, think how Minorca was loſt; and when they glow with reſentment at the Dutch burning our fleet at Chatham, recall admiral Haddock at Gibraltar, whilſt the enemy paſſed before his eyes uninterrupted in their courſe, and reflect one moment why the late expedition miſcarried. Let them examine what were then the national debts, and compare them with the preſent: and though they ſigh at the ſad reflection, yet let not their boſoms be diveſted of hope, that beneath a miniſter which ſeeks to eſtabliſh the people's liberty, ſome limits may at length be fixed to that prevailing cauſe which hath mortgaged and exhauſted a generous nation.

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CHAPTER

REFLECTIONS.

THE eaſy and glorious reception of the king, in the manner that hath been mentioned, without any other conditions than what had been frankly offered by himſelf, in his declarations and letters from Breda; the parliaments caſting themſelves in a body at his foot in the minute of his arrival at Whitehall, with all the profeſſions of duty and ſubmiſſion imaginable; and no man having authority there but they who had either eminently ſerved the late king, or were ſince grown out of their nonage from ſuch fathers, and had thoroughly manifeſted their faſt fidelity to his preſent majeſty; the reſt who had been enough criminal, ſhewing more animoſity towards the ſevere puniſhment of thoſe who having more power in the late times had exceeded them in miſchief, than care for their own

indemnity; this temper ſufficiently evident and the univerſal joy of the people, which was equally viſible, for the total ſuppreſſion of all thoſe who had ſo many years exerciſed tyranny over them, made moſt men believe, both abroad and at home, that God had not only reſtored the king miraculouſly to his throne, but that he had, as he did in the time of Hezekiah, prepared the people, for the thing was done ſuddenly (2 Chro. xxix. 36.) in ſuch a manner, that his authority and greatneſs would have been more illuſtrious than it had been in any of his anceſtors. And it is moſt true and muſt never be denied, that the people were ſo admirably diſpoſed and prepared to pay all the ſubjection, duty and obedience that a juſt and prudent king could expect from them: and had a very ſharp averſion and deteſtation for all thoſe who had formerly miſled and corrupted them. So that except the general who ſeemed to be poſſeſſed entirely of the affection of the army; and whoſe fidelity was now above all miſ-apprehenſion: there appeared no man whoſe power and intereſt could in any degree hurt or indanger the peace and ſecurity the king was in. The congratulations for his return being ſo univerſal from all the counties of England, as well as from the parliament and city, from all thoſe who had moſt ſignally diſerved and diſclaimed him, as well as from thoſe of his own party, and thoſe who were deſcended from them, inſomuch as the king was wont merrily to ſay, as hath been mentioned before, "That it could be no-bodies fault but his own, that "he had ſtaied ſo long abroad when all mankind wiſhed "him ſo heartily at home." It cannot therefore but be concluded by the ſtanders by, and the ſpectators of this wonderful change and exclamation of all degrees of men,

that there muſt be ſome wonderful miſcarriages in the ſtate, or ſome unheard of defect of underſtanding in thoſe who were truſted by the king in the adminiſtration of his affairs, that there could in ſo ſhort a time be a new revolution in the general affections of the people, that they grew even weary of that happineſs they were poſſeſſed of and had ſo much valued, and fell into the ſame diſcontents and murmurings which had naturally accompanied in the worſt of times. From what fatal cauſes theſe miſerable effects were produced is the buſineſs of this preſent diſquiſition to examine and in ſome degree to diſcover, and therefore muſt be of ſuch a nature as muſt be as tenderly handled, with reference to things and perſons, as the diſcovery of truth will permit, and cannot be preſumed to be intended ever for a public view, or for more than the information of his children, of the true ſource and ground from whence their father's misfortunes proceeded, in which nothing can be found, that can make them aſhamed of his memory.

The king brought with him from beyond the ſeas, that council which had always attended him, and whoſe advice he had always received in his tranſactions of greateſt importance; and his ſmall family that conſiſted of gentlemen who had for the moſt part been put about him by his father, and conſtantly waited upon his perſon in all his diſtreſſes, with as much ſubmiſſion and patience undergoing their part in it as could reaſonably be expected from ſuch a people: and therefore had the keeneſt appetites and the ſtronger preſumption to puſh on their fortunes (as they called it) in the infancy of their maſter's reſtoration, that other men might not be preferred before them, who had not born the heat of the day as they had done. Of the

council were the chancellor, the marquiſs of Ormonde, the lord Colepeper and ſecretary Nicholas, who lived in great amity and concurrence in the communication of the moſt ſecret councils. There had been more of his council abroad with him, who according to the motions he made and the places he had reſided in, were ſometimes with him: but either remained in France, or in ſome parts of Holland or Flanders for their convenience, ready to repair to his majeſty when they ſhould be called for. The four nominated above were they who conſtantly attended, were privy to all councils, and waited upon him in his return. The chancellor was the higheſt in place, and thought to be ſo in truſt, becauſe he was moſt in private with the king, had managed moſt of the ſecret correſpondence in England, and all diſpatches of importance had paſſed through his hands: which had hitherto been with leſs envy, becauſe the indefatigable pains he took were very viſible, and it was as viſible that he gained nothing by it. His wants and neceſſities were as great as any man's, nor was the allowance aſſigned to him by the king in the leaſt degree more or better paid than every one of the council received: beſides, the friendſhip was ſo entire between the marquiſs of Ormonde and him, that no arts that were uſed could diſſolve it. And it was enough known that he had an entire and full confidence from the king and a greater eſteem than any man: ſo that the chancellor ſo entirely communicated all particulars with him, that there was not the leaſt reſolution taken without his privity and approbation. The chancellor had been imployed by the laſt king in all the affairs of the greateſt truſt and ſecrecy, had been made privy-councellor and chancellor of the Exchequer in the very beginning of the troubles, and had been ſent by that king

king into the Weſt with his ſon, when he thought their intereſt could be beſt preferred and provided for, by ſeparating their perſons. A greater teſtimony and recommendation a ſervant could not receive from his maſter than the king gave him to the prince; who from that time treated him with as much affection and confidence as any man, and notwithſtanding very powerful oppoſition, which he continued and improved to this time of his reſtoration, and even then rejected ſome intimations rather than propoſitions, which were ſecretly made to him at the Hague, that the chancellor was a man very much in prejudice of the presbyterian party, as in truth he was, and therefore that his majeſty would do beſt to leave him behind, till he ſhould be himſelf ſettled in England: which the king received with ſo much indignation and diſdain, and anſwered the perſon who privately preſumed to give that advice, in ſuch a manner, that he was troubled no more with the importunity, nor did any man ever own the advice. Yet the chancellor had beſought the king upon ſome rumours which had been ſpread, that if any exception or prejudice to his perſon ſhould be ſo inſiſted on, as might delay his return one hour, he would decline giving him any protection, till he ſhould find it more in his power after his arrival in England: which deſire of his, tho' it found no reception with the king, proceeded from ſo much ſincerity, that it is well known the chancellor did poſitively reſolve, that if any ſuch thing had been urged by any authority, he would render the king's indulgence and grace of no inconvenience to his majeſty by his ſecret and voluntary withdrawing himſelf without his privacy, and without the reach of his diſcovery for ſome time, ſo far he was from being byaſſed by his own particular benefit and advantage. The marquiſs of Ormonde was

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the perſon of the greateſt quality, eſtate and reputation, who had frankly engaged his perſon and his fortune in the king's ſervice from the firſt hour of the troubles, and purſued it with that courage and conſtancy, that when the king was murthered, and he deſerted by the Iriſh, contrary to the articles of peace, which they had made with him: and when he could màke no longer defence, he refuſed all the conditions which Cromwell offered, who would have given him all his vaſt eſtate, if he would have been contented to have liv'd quietly in one of his own houſes, without farther concerning himſelf in the quarrel, and tranſported himſelf without ſo much as accepting a paſs from his authority in a little weak veſſel into France, where he found the king, from whom he never parted till he returned with him into England. And having thus merited as much as a ſubject can do from a prince, he had much more credit and eſteem with the king, than any other man: and the luſtre the chancellor was in, was no leſs from the declared friendſhip the marquiſs had for him, than from the great truſt his majeſty repoſed in him. The lord Colepeper was a man of great parts, a very ſharp and preſent wit, and a univerſal underſtanding, ſo that few men filled a place in council with more ſufficiency, or expreſſed themſelves upon any ſubject that occurred with more weight and vigour. He had been truſted by the late king (who had a ſingular opinion of his courage and his other abilities) to wait upon the prince when he left his father: and continued ſtill afterwards with him, or in his ſervice, and in good correſpondence with the chancellor. Secretary Nicholas was a man of a general good reputation with all men, of unqueſtionable integrity, long experience in the ſervice of the crown, whom the late king truſted as much as any man to his death. He was one of thoſe who were excepted by the

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parliament from pardon or compoſition: and ſo was compelled to leave the kingdom, ſhortly after Oxford was delivered up, when the king was in the hands of the Scots. The preſent king continued him in the office of ſecretary of ſtate, which he had ſo long held under his father. He was a man of great gravity, and without any ambitious or private deſigns, and had ſo faſt a friendſhip with the chancellor, that he was very well content and without any jealouſy for his making many diſpatches and other tranſactions, which more immediately related to his office, and which were indeed always made with his privity and concurrence. This was the ſtate and conſtitution of the king's council and of his family, when he imbarked in Holland, and landed at Dover. The additions and alterations which were afterwards made, will be mentioned in their place.

It will be convenient here before we deſcend to thoſe particulars, which had an influence upon the minds of men, to take a clear view of the temper and ſpirit of that time, of the nature and inclination of the army, of the diſpoſition and intereſt of the ſeveral factions in religion, all which appeared in their ſeveral colours without diſſembling their principles, and with equal confidence demanded the liberty of conſcience they had enjoyed in and ſince the time of Cromwell; and the humour and the preſent purpoſe and deſign of the parliament itſelf, to whoſe judgment and determination the whole ſettlement of the kingdom both in church and ſtate ſtood referred by the king's own declaration from Breda, which by God's inſpiration had been the ſole viſible motive to that wonderful change, which had enſued. And whoſoever takes a proſpect of all thoſe ſeveral paſſions, and appetites, and intereſts, together with the divided affections, jealouſies, and animoſi-

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ties of thoſe who had been always looked upon as the king's party, which if united would in that conjuncture have been powerful enough to have battered all the other; I ſay whoever truly and ingeniouſly conſiders and reflects upon all this compoſition of contradictory wiſhes and expectations muſt confeſs that the king was not yet the maſter of the kingdom, nor his authority and ſecurity ſuch as the general noiſe and exclamation, the bells and the bonefires proclamed it to be: and that there was in no conjuncture more need that the virtue, and wiſdom, and induſtry of a prince ſhould be evident and made manifeſt in the preſervation of his dignity, and in the application of his mind to the government of his affairs: and that all thoſe who were eminently truſted by him ſhould be men of unqueſtionable ſincerity, who with induſtry and dexterity ſhould firſt endeavour to compoſe the publick diſorders, and to provide for the peace and ſettlement of the kingdom, before they applied themſelves to make or improve their own particular fortunes. And there is little queſtion but if this good method had been purſued, and the reſolutions of that kind which the king had ſeriouſly taken beyond the ſeas, when he firſt diſcerned his good fortune coming towards him, had been executed and improved, the hearts and affections of all degrees of men were ſo prepared by their own natural inclinations and integrity, by what they had ſeen and what they had ſuffered, by their obſervations and experience, by their fears or by their hopes, that they might have been all kneaded into as firm and conſtant an obedience and reſignation to the king's authority, and to a laſting eſtabliſhment of monarchick power in all the juſt extent, which the king could expect, or men of any publick or honeſt affections

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could wiſh or ſubmit to. The firſt mortification the king met with, was as ſoon as he arrived at Canterbury, whithin there hours after he had landed at Dover, and where he found many of thoſe who were juſtly looked upon from their own ſufferings, or thoſe of their fathers, and their conſtant adhering to the ſame principles, and of the king's party, who with joy waited to kiſs his hand, and were receiv'd by him with thoſe open arms, and flowing expreſſions of grace, calling all thoſe by their names, who were known to him, that they eaſily aſſured themſelves of the accompliſhment of all their deſires from ſuch a generous prince; and ſome of them that they might not looſe the firſt opportunity, forced him to give them preſent audience: in which they reckoned up the inſupportable loſſes undergone by themſelves or their fathers, and ſome ſervices of their own: and thereupon demanded the preſent grant or promiſe of ſuch or ſuch an office, ſome for the real ſmall value of one, though of the firſt claſſes, preſſed for two or three, with ſuch confidence and importunity, and with ſuch tedious diſcourſes, that the king was extremely nauſeated with their ſuits, tho' his modeſty knew not how to break from them; that he no ſooner got into his chamber, which for ſome hours he was not able to do, than he lamented the condition, to which he found he muſt be ſubject; and did in truth from that minute contract ſuch a prejudice againſt the perſons of ſome of thoſe, though of the greateſt quality, for the indecency and incongruity of their pretences, that he never afterwards received their addreſſes with his uſual grace or patience, and rarely granted any thing they deſired, tho' the matter was more reaſonable, and the manner of asking much more modeſt. But there was another mortification, which immediately ſucceeded this, that gave

him much more trouble, and in which he knew not how to comport himſelf. The general after he had given all neceſſary orders to his troops, and ſent a ſhort diſpatch to the parliament of the king's being come to Canterbury, and of his purpoſe to ſtay there two days, till the next Sunday was paſt, came to the king in his chamber, and in a ſhort ſecret audience, and without any preamble or apology, as he was not a man of a graceful elocution, he told him, that he could not do him better ſervice, than by recommending to him ſuch perſons who were moſt grateful to the people, and in reſpect of their parts and intereſt were beſt able to ſerve him. And thereupon gave him a large paper full of names, which the king in diſorder enough received, and without reading put it into his pocket, that he might not enter into any particular debate upon the perſons, and told him, that he would be always ready to receive his advice, and willing to gratify him in any thing he ſhould deſire, and which would not be prejudicial to his ſervice. The king, aſſoon as he could, took an opportunity, when there remained no more in his chamber, to inform the chancellor of the firſt aſſaults he had encountered, as ſoon as he alighted out of his coach, and afterwards of what the general had ſaid to him, and thereupon took the paper out of his pocket, and read it. It contained the names of at leaſt threeſcore and ten perſons, who were thought fitteſt to be made privy conncellors; in the whole number whereof there were only two, who had ever ſerv'd the king, or been looked upon as zealouſly affected to his ſervice, the marquiſs of Hertford and the earl of Southampton, who were both of ſo univerſal reputation and intereſt, and ſo well known to have the very particular eſteem of the king, that they needed no ſuch recommendations. All the reſt were either thoſe councellors who had

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ſerved the king and deſerted him by adhering to the parliament, or of thoſe who had moſt eminently diſſerved him in the beginning of the rebellion, and in the carrying it with all fierceneſs and animoſity until the new model and diſmiſſing the earl of Eſſex. Then indeed Cromwell had grown terrible to them, and diſpoſed them to wiſh the king was again poſſeſſed of the regal power, and which they did but wiſh. There were then the names of the principal perſons of the presbyterian party, to which the general was thought to be moſt inclined, at leaſt to ſatisfy the fooliſh and unruly inclinations of his wife. There were likewiſe the names of ſome who were moſt notorious in all the other factions, and of ſome who in reſpect of their mean qualities and meaner qualifications, no body could imagine how they came to be named, except that by the very odd mixture, any ſober and wiſe reſolutions and concurrence might be prevented. The king was in more than ordinary confuſion at reading this paper, and knew not well what to think of the general, in whoſe abſolute power he was. However he reſolved in the entrance upon his government not to conſent to ſuch impoſitions which might prove perpetual fetters and chains upon him hereafter. He gave the paper therefore to the chancellor, and bad him take the firſt opportunity to diſcourſe the matter with the general, whom he had not yet ſaluted, or rather with Mr. Morrice, his moſt intimate friend, whom he had newly preſented to the king, and with both whom he preſumed he would be ſhortly acquainted, though for the preſent both were equally unknown to him. Shortly after, when mutual viſits had paſſed between them, and ſuch profeſſions as are naturally made between perſons, who were likely to have much to do with each other, and Mr. Morrice being in private with him, the chancellor told him how much the king was ſurprized with the paper he had

received from the general, which at leaſt recommended (which would have always great authority with him) ſome ſuch perſons to his truſt, in whom he could not yet, till they were better known to him, repoſe any confidence: and thereupon he read many of their names, and ſaid, that if ſuch men were made privy councellors, it would be either imputed to the king's own election, which would cauſe a very ill meaſure to be taken of his majeſty's nature and judgment, or (which more probably would be the caſe) to the inclination and power of the general, which would be attended with as ill effects. Mr. Morice ſeemed much troubled with the apprehenſion; and ſaid the paper was of his hand writing, by the general's orders, who he was aſſured had no ſuch intention; but that he would preſently ſpeak with him, and return, which he did within leſs than an hour; and expreſſed the trouble the general was in upon the king's very juſt exception; and that the truth was, he had been obliged to have much communication with men of all humours and inclinations; and ſo had promiſed to do them good offices to the king; and could not therefore avoid inſerting their names in that paper, without any imagination that the king would accept them: that he had done his part, and all that could be expected from him, and left the king to do what he had thought beſt for his own ſervice, which he would always deſire him to do, whatever propoſition he ſhould at any time preſume to make to his majeſty, which he would not promiſe ſhould be always reaſonable: however he did ſtill heartily wiſh, that his majeſty would make uſe of ſome of thoſe perſons, whom he named, and ſaid, he knew moſt of them were not his friends, and that his ſervice would be more advanced by admitting them, than by leaving them out. The king was abundantly pleaſed with

with this good temper of the general, and leſs diſliked thoſe whom he diſcern'd would be grateful to him, than any of the reſt, and ſo the next day he made the general knight of the garter, and admitted him of the council; and likewiſe at the ſame time gave the ſignet to Mr. Morice, who was ſworn of the council and ſecretary of ſtate; and Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper who had been preſented by the general under a ſpecial recommendation, was then too ſworn of the council; and the rather becauſe having lately married the niece of the earl of Southampton, who was then likewiſe preſent, and received the garter, to which he had been elected ſome years before, it was believed his ſlippery humour would be eaſily reſtrained and fixed by his uncle. All this was tranſacted during his majeſty's ſtay at Canterbury.

Upon the 29th of May, which was his majeſty's birthday, and now again the day of his reſtoration and triumph, he entered London. The highway from Rocheſter to Blackheath being on both ſides ſo full of acclamations of joy, and crowded with ſuch a multitude of people, that it ſeemed one continued ſtreet wonderfully inhabited. Upon Blackheath the army was drawn up, conſiſting of above fifty thouſand men, horſe and foot, in excellent order and equipage, where the general preſented the chief officers to kiſs the king's hand, which grace they ſeemed to receive with all chearfulneſs and humility. Shortly after the lord mayor of London, the ſheriffs and body of aldermen, with the whole militia of the city, appeared with great luſtre, whom the king received with a moſt graceful and obliging countenance, and knighted the mayor and all the aldermen and ſheriffs, and the principal officers of the militia: an honour the city had been without near eighteen years, and therefore abundantly welcome to the husbands and their wives.

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With this equipage the king was attended thro' the city of London, where the ſtreets were railed in on both ſides, that the livery of all the companies of the city might appear with the more order and decency, till he came to Whitehall; the windows all the way being full of ladies and perſons of quality, who were impatient to fill their eyes with a beloved ſpectacle of which they had been ſo long depriv'd. The king was no ſooner at Whitehall, but (as has been ſaid) the ſpeaker and both houſes of parliamdnt preſented themſelves with all poſſible profeſſions of duty and obedience at his royal feet, and were even raviſhed with the chearful reception they had from him. The joy was univerſal, and whoſoever was not pleaſed at heart took the more care to appear as if he was, and no noiſe was heard but of the higheſt congratulation, of extolling the perſon of the king, admiring his condeſcenſion and affability, raiſing his praiſes to heaven, and curſing and deteſting the memory of thoſe villains, who had ſo long excluded ſo meritorious a prince, and thereby withheld that happineſs from them, which they ſhould enjoy in the largeſt meaſure they could deſire or wiſh. The joy on all ſides was with the greateſt exceſs, ſo that moſt men thought, and had reaſon enough to think that the king was even already that great and glorious prince, which the parliament had wantonly and hypocritically promiſed to raiſe his father to be.

The chancellor took his place in the houſe of peers with a general acceptation and reſpect, and all thoſe lords, who were alive, and had ſerved the king's father, and the ſons of thoſe who were dead, and were equally excluded from ſitting there by ordinance of parliament, together with all thoſe who were created by this king, took their ſeats in parliament, without the leaſt murmur or exception. The houſe

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of commons ſeemed equally conſtituted to what could be wiſhed; for tho' there were many presbyterian members, and ſome of all other factions in religion, who did all promiſe themſelves ſome liberty and indulgence for their reſpective parties; yet they all profeſſed great zeal for the eſtabliſhing the king in his full power: and the major part of the houſe was of ſober and prudent men, who had been long known to be very weary of all the late governments, and heartily to deſire and pray for the king's return; and there were many who had either themſelves been actual and active malignants and delinquents in the late king's time, or the ſons of ſuch, who inherited their father's virtues; both which claſſes of men were excluded from being capable of being elected to ſerve in parliament; not only by former ordinances but by expreſs caution in the very writs which were ſent out to ſummon this parliament; and were notwithſtanding made choice of, and returned by the country, and received without any heſitation into the houſe, and treated by all men with more civility and reſpect for their known malignity; ſo that the king thought it was neceſſary to have patience in the expectation of their reſolutions in all important points, which could not be ſuddenly concluded in ſuch a popular aſſembly, and was very reaſonably aſſured, that he ſhould have nothing preſſed upon him, that ſhould be ungrateful with reference to the church or ſtate. It is true the presbyterians were very numerous in the houſe and many of them men of good parts, and had a great party in the army, and a greater in the city; and except with reference to epiſcopacy, were deſirous to make themſelves grateful to the king in the ſettling all his intereſt; and eſpecially in vindicating themſelves from the odious murder of the king by loud and paſſionate inveighing againſt that

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monſtrous parricide; and with the higheſt animoſity denouncing the ſevereſt judgments, not only againſt thoſe who were immediately guilty of it, but againſt thoſe principal perſons, who had moſt notoriouſly adhered to Cromwell in the adminiſtration of his government, that is moſt eminently oppoſed them and their faction. They took all occaſions to declare that the power and intereſt of their party had been the chief means to bring home the king; and uſed all poſſible endeavours that the king might be perſuaded to think ſo too, and that the very covenant had at laſt done him good, and expedited his return, by the cauſing it to be hung up in churches, from whence Cromwell had caſt it out, and their miniſters preſſing upon the conſciences of all thoſe who had taken it, that they were bound by that clauſe, which concerned the defence of the king's perſon, to take up arms, if need were, on his behalf; and to reſtore him to his rightful government, when the very ſame miniſters had obliged them to take up arms againſt the king his father by virtue of that covenant, and to fight againſt him, till they had taken him priſoner, which produced his murder. This party was much diſpleaſed that the king declared himſelf ſo poſitively on behalf of epiſcopacy; and would hear no other prayers in his chapel than thoſe contained in the Book of Common Prayer; and that all thoſe formalities and ſolemnities were now again reſumed and practiſed, which they had cauſed to be aboliſhed for ſo many years paſt; yet the king left all churches to their liberty, to uſe ſuch forms of devotion, which they liked beſt, and ſuch of their chief preachers, who deſired it, or were deſired by their friends, were admitted to preach before him, even without the ſurplice, or in any other habit that they made choice of, but this connivance would not do their buſineſs. Their preaching

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made no proſelytes who were not ſo before; and the reſort of the people to thoſe churches where the Common Prayer was again introduced, was evidence enough of their inclinations; and they ſaw the king's chapel always full of thoſe who had uſed to poſſeſs the chief benches in their aſſemblies; ſo that it was manifeſt that nothing but the ſupreme authority would be able to ſettle their diſcipline, and therefore with the uſual confidence they were very importunate in the houſe of commons, that the eccleſiaſtical government might be ſettled, and remain according to the covenant, which had been practiſed many years, and ſo the people generally well devoted to it; whereas the introducing the Common Prayer (with which very few had ever been acquainted, or heard it read) would very much offend the people, and give great interruption to the compoſing the peace of the kingdom. This was urged in the houſe of commons by eminent men of the party, who believed they had the main part of their mind, and their preachers were as ſolicitous and induſtrious to inculcate the ſame doctrine to the principal perſons who had returned with the king; and every day reſorted to the court as if they preſided there; and had frequent audiences of the king to perſuade him to be of their opinion, from whence they received no other condeſcenſion, than they had formerly had at the Hague, with the ſame gracious affability and expreſſions to their perſons. That party in the houſe that was in truth devoted to the king, and to the old principles of the church of England, which every day increaſed, thought not fit ſo to croſs the presbyterians, as to make them deſperate in their hopes of ſatisfaction; but with the concurrence with thoſe

who were of contrary factions, diverted the argument, by propoſing other ſubjects of more immediate relation to the publick; peace and the act of indemnity which every man impatiently longed for, and the raiſing money towards the paying the army and the navy, without which that inſupportable charge could not be leſſened, to be firſt conſidered and diſpatched, and the model for religion to be debated and prepared by that committee, which had been nominated before his majeſty's return to that purpoſe, they not doubting to croſs and puzzle any pernicious reſolutions there, till time and their own extravagant follies ſhould put ſome end to their deſtructive deſigns.

In the mean time there were two particulars, which the king with much inward impatience, tho' with little outward communication did moſt deſire, the diſbanding the army and ſettling the revenue; the courſe and receipts whereof had been ſo broken and perverted, and a great part extinguiſhed, by the ſale of all the crown lands, that the old officers of the exchequer, auditors or receivers knew not how to reſume their adminiſtration; beſides that, the great receipt of exciſe and cuſtoms were not yet veſted in the king, nor did the parliament make any haſte to aſſign it, finding it neceſſary to reſerve it in the old way, and not to diveſt it from thoſe aſſignments, which had been made for the payment of the army and navy, for which, until ſome other proviſion could be made, it was to no purpoſe to mention diſbanding the one or the other, tho' the charge of both was ſo vaſt and inſupportable, that the kingdom muſt in a ſhort time ſink under the burthen, for what concerned the revenue and raiſing money the king was leſs ſolicitous, and

yet there was not ſo much as any aſſignation made for the ſupport of the houſehold, which cauſed a vaſt debt to be contracted before taken notice of, the miſchief of which is hardly yet removed. He ſaw the parliament every day doing ſomewhat in it, and it quickly diſſolved all bargains, contracts and ſales, which had been made of any of the crown lands, ſo that all that royal revenue (which had been too much waſted and impaired in thoſe improvident times which had preceded the troubles) was intirely remitted to thoſe to whom it belonged, the king and the queen his mother. But very little money was returned out of the ſame into the exchequer in the ſpace of the firſt year; ſo difficult it was to reduce any payments, which had been made for ſo many years irregularly, into the old channel and order; and every thing elſe of this kind was done, how ſlowly ſoever, with as much expedition, as the nature of the affair and the crowd in which it was neceſſary to be agitated, as could reaſonably be expected, and therefore his majeſty was leſs troubled for thoſe inconveniencies, which he foreſaw muſt inevitably flow from thence. But the delay in disbanding the army, how unavoidable ſoever, did exceedingly afflict him, and the more becauſe, for many reaſons, he could not pay it, nor complain of it. He knew well the ill conſtitution of the army, the diſtemper and murmurring that was in it, and how many diſeaſes and convulſions their infant loyalty was ſubject to, that how united ſoever their inclinations and acclamations ſeemed to be at Blackheath, their affections were not the ſame, and the very countenances then of many officers as well as ſoldiers did ſufficiently manifeſt, that they were drawn thither to a ſervice they were not delighted in. The general, before he had formed any reſolution to himſelf, and only valued himſelf upon the presbyterian intereſt,

had caſhiered ſome regiments and companies, which he knew not to be devoted to his perſon and greatneſs; and after he found it neceſſary to fix his own hopes and dependance upon the king, he had diſmiſſed many officers who he thought might be willing and able to croſs his deſigns and purpoſes, when he ſhould think fit to diſcover them; and conferred their charges and commands upon thoſe who had been diſfavoured by the late powers; and after the parliament had declared for and proclaim'd the king, he caſhier'd others, and gave their offices to ſome eminent commanders who had ſerved the king, and gave others of the loyal nobility leave to liſt volunteers in companies to appear with them at the reception of the king, all who had met and joined with the army at Blackheath in the head of their regiments and companies, yet notwithſtanding all this providence, the old ſoldiers had little regard for their new officers at leaſt had no reſignation for them; and it quickly appear'd by the ſelect and affected mixture of ſullen and melancholy parties of officers and ſoldiers, that, as ill diſpoſed men of other claſſes were left, as had been disbanded, and that much the greater part ſo much abounded with ill-humours, that it was not ſafe to adminiſter a general purgation. It is true that Lambert was cloſe priſoner in the Tower, and as many of thoſe officers who were taken and had appeared in arms with him, when he was taken, were likewiſe there or in ſome other priſons, with others of the ſame complexion, who were well enough known to have the preſent ſettlement that was intended, in perfect deteſtation; but this leproſy was ſpread too far to have the contagion quickly or eaſily extinguiſhed. How cloſe ſoever Lambert himſelf was ſecured from doing miſchief, his faction was at liberty and very numerous; his disbanded officers

and ſoldiers mingled and converſed with their old friends and companions, and found too many of them poſſeſſed with the ſame ſpirit; they concurred in the ſame reproaches and railings of the general, as the man who had treacherouſly betrayed them and led them into an ambuſcade, from whence they knew not how to diſentangle themſelves. They looked upon him as the ſole perſon, who ſtill ſupported his own model, and were well aſſured, that if he were removed the army would be ſtill the ſame, and appear in their old retrenchments, and therefore they entered into ſeveral combinations to aſſaſinate him, which they reſolved to do with the firſt opportunity. In a word they liked neither the mein nor garb, nor countenance of the court, nor were wrought upon by the gracious aſpect and benignity of the king himſelf. All this was well enough known to his majeſty and to the general, who was well enough acquainted, and not at all pleaſed with the temper and diſpoſition of his army, and therefore no leſs deſired it ſhould be disbanded than the king did. In the mean time very diligent endeavours were uſed to diſcover and apprehend ſome principal perſons, who took as much care to conceal themſelves; and every day many dangerous or ſuſpected perſons of all qualities were impriſoned in all counties. Spies were employ'd who for the moſt part had the ſame affections, which they were to diſcover in others, and received money on both ſides to do, and not to do, the work they were appointed to do. And in this melancholy and perplex'd condition the king and all his hopes ſtood, when he appeared moſt gay and exalted, and wore a pleaſantneſs in his face that became him, and look'd like as full an aſſurance of his ſecurity as was poſſible to put on.

There

There was yet added to this ſlippery and uneaſy poſture of affairs, another mortification, which made a deeper impreſſion on the king's ſpirit than all the reſt, and without which the worſt of the other would have been in ſome degree remediable. That was the conſtitution and diſunion of thoſe who were called and look'd upon as his own party; which without doubt in the whole kingdom was numerous enough, and capable of being powerful enough to give the law to all the reſt; which had been the ground of many unhappy attempts in the late time, that if any preſent force could be drawn together, and poſſeſſed of any ſuch place, in which they might make a ſtand without being over-run in a moment, the general concurrence of the kingdom would in a ſhort time reduce the army; and make the king ſuperior to all his enemies; which imagination was enough confuted, tho' not enough extinguiſhed, by the dear bought experience in the woeful enterprize at Worceſter. However it had been now a very juſtifiable preſumption in the king to believe as well as hope, that he could not be long in England, without ſuch an appearance of his own party that wiſhed all that he himſelf deſired, and ſuch a manifeſtation of their authority, intereſt and power, that would prevent, or be ſufficient to ſubdue any forward diſpoſition that might grow up in the parliament, or more extravagant demand in the army itſelf. And appearance there was of that people great enough, who had all the wiſhes for the king, which he entertained for himſelf; but they were ſo divided and diſunited by private quarrels, factions and animoſities; or ſo unacquainted with each other, or, which was worſe, ſo jealous of each other, the underſtandings and faculties of many honeſt men were ſo weak and ſhallow, that they could not be applied to any great truſt; and others who wiſhed and meant very well

well; had a peeviſhneſs, frowardneſs and opiniotreté, that they would be ingaged only in what pleaſed themſelves; nor would join in any thing with ſuch and ſuch men whom they diſlik'd. The ſevere and tyrannical government of Cromwell and the Parliament had ſo often embarraſſed and impriſoned them upon mere jealouſies, that they were grown ſtrangers to one another, without any communication between them, and there had been ſo frequent betrayings and treacheries uſed, ſo many diſcoveries of meetings privately contrived, and of diſcourſes accidentally entered into, and words and expreſſions raſhly and unadviſedly uttered without any deſign, upon which multitudes were ſtill impriſon'd, and many put to death; ſo that the jealouſy was ſo univerſal, that few men, who had never ſo good Affections for the king, durſt conſer with any freedom together. Moſt of thoſe of the nobility, who had with conſtancy and fidelity adhered to the laſt king, and had greateſt authority with all men who profeſſed the ſame affections, were dead; as the duke of Richmond, the earl of Dorſet, the lord Capel, the lord Hopton, and many other excellent perſons and of that claſs, that is of a powerful intereſt and unſuſpected integrity (for there were ſome very good men, who were without any cauſe ſuſpected, than becauſe they were not equally perſecuted upon all occaſions) there were only two who ſurvived, the marquis of Hertford and the earl of Southampton, who were both great and worthy men, and looked upon with great eſtimation, by all the moſt valuable men, who could contribute moſt to the king's reſtauration, and with reverence by their greateſt enemies, and had been courted by Cromwell himſelf, till he found it to no purpoſe; and though the marquis had been prevailed with once, and no more, to give him a viſit, the other, the earl, could never

ver be perſuaded ſo much as to ſee him; and, when Cromwell was in the New Foreſt, and reſolved one day to viſit him, he being informed of it, or ſuſpecting it, removed to another houſe he had, as ſuch a diſtance as exempted him from that viſitation; but theſe two great perſons had for ſeveral years withdrawn themſelves into the country, lived retired, ſent ſometimes ſuch money as they could raiſe out of their long ſequeſtered and exhauſted fortunes, by meſſengers of their own dependance, with advice to the kiag to ſit ſtill and expect a reaſonable revolution without making any unadvis'd attempt, and induſtriouſly declined any converſation or commerce with any who were known to correſpond with the king; ſo that now upon his majeſty's return they were totally unacquainted with any of thoſe perſons, who were looked upon as men to be depended on in any great action and attempt, and for themſelves, as the marquis ſhortly after died, ſo the other with great abilities ſerved him in his moſt ſecret and important councils, but had been never converſant in martial affairs. There had been ſix or eight perſons of general good and confeſſed reputations, and who of all who were then left alive had had the moſt eminent charges in the war; and executed them with great courage and diſcretion, ſo that few men could with any reaſonable pretence refuſe to receive orders from them, or to ſerve under their commands; they had great affection for, and confidence in each other, and had frankly offered, by an expreſs of their own number, whilſt the king remained in France, that if they were approved and qualified by his majeſty they would by joint advice intend the care of his majeſty's ſervice; and as they would not engage in any abſurd and deſperate attempt, but uſe all their credit and authority to prevent and diſcountenance the ſame, ſo they

would take the first rational opportunity, which they expected from the divisions and animosities which daily grew and appeared in the army, to draw their friends and old soldiers, who were ready to receive their commands together, and try the utmost that could be done with the loss or hazard of their lives, some of them having, besides their experience in war, very considerable fortunes of their own to lose, and near relations to the greatest families in England; and therefore they made it their humble suit, that this secret correspondence might be carried on and known to none but the marquis of Ormond, and the chancellor; and that if any other councils were set on foot in England by the activity of particular persons, who too frequently, with great zeal and little animadversion, embarked themselves in impossible undertakings, his majesty upon advertisement thereof would first communicate the motives and pretences, which would be offered to him, to them; and then they would find opportunity to confer with some sober man of that fraternity, as there was no well affected person in England, who at that time would not willingly receive advice and direction from most of those persons; and thereupon they would present their opinion to his majesty; and if the design should appear practicable to his majesty, they would chearfully embark themselves in it, otherwise use their own dexterity to divert it. Those men had been armed with all necessary commissions and instructions according to their own desires, the king consented to all they proposed, and the cyphers and correspondence committed to the chancellor, in whose hands, with the privacy only of the marquis of Ormond, all the intelligence with England, of what kind soever, was intrusted. Under this conduct for some years all things succeeded well, many unseasonable attempts were prevented, and thereby the lives of many good men

preſerved; and tho' upon the curſory jealouſy of that time, and the reſtleſs apprehenſion of Cromwell, and the almoſt continual commitments of all who had eminently ſerved the king, and were able to do it again, ſo that theſe perſons who were thus truſted or the major part of them were ſeldom out of priſon, or free from the obligation of good ſureties for their peaceable behaviour, yet all the vigilance of Cromwell, and his moſt diligent inquiſitors, could never diſcover this ſecret intercourſe between theſe confidents and the king; which did always paſs and was maintained by expreſſes made choice of by them, and ſupported at their charge out of ſuch monies, as were privately collected for publick uſes, of which they who contributed moſt knew little more than the integrity of him who was intruſted, who did not always make skillful contributions. It fell out unfortunately that two of theſe principal perſons fell out, and had a fatal quarrel upon a particular leſs juſtifiable than any thing that could reſult from, or relate to the great truſt they both had from the king; which ought to have been of influence enough to have ſuppreſſed and diverted all paſſions of that kind; but the animoſities grew ſuddainly irreconcileable, and if not divided the affections of the whole knot, at leaſt interrupted or ſuſpended their conſtant intercourſe and confidence in each other; and ſo the diligent accounts which the king uſed to receive from them, and the cauſe growing more publick and notorious, tho' not known in a long time after to the king, exceedingly leſſened both their reputations with the moſt ſober men; inſomuch as they withdrew all confidence in their conduct, and all inclinations to embark in the buſineſs which was intruſted in ſuch hands; and which was worſe than all this, one perſon among them of as unblemiſh'd a reputation as either of them, and of much better abilities and faculties of

mind,

mind, either affected with this untoward accident, or broken with frequent imprisonments, and despair of any resurrection of the king's interest, about this time yielded to a foul temptation; and for large supplies of money, which his fortune stood in need of, engaged to be a spy to Cromwell, with a latitude, which he did not allow others of that ignominious tribe, undertaking only to impart enough of any design to prevent the mischief thereof, without exposing any man to the loss of his life, or ever appearing himself to make good and justify any of his discoveries. The rest of his associates neither suspected their companion, nor lessen'd their affection or utmost zeal for the king, tho' they remitted some of their diligence in his service by the other unhappy interruption.

This falling out during his majesty's abode in Cologn, he was very long without notice of the grounds of that jealousy, which had obstructed his usual correspondence; and the matter of infidelity being not in the least degree suspected, he could not avoid receiving advice and propositions from other honest men, who were of known affection and courage; and who conversed much with the officers of the army, and were unskilfully disposed to believe that all they who they had reason to believe did hate Cromwell, would easily be induced to serve the king, and many of the officers in their behaviour, discourses and familiarity contributed to that belief, some of them not without the privity and allowance of Cromwell, or his secretary Thurloe: and upon overtures of this kind, and wonderful confidence of success, even upon the preparations which were in readiness of and by his own party, several messengers were sent to the king, and by all of them sharp and passionate complaints against those who were so much and still in the same confidence with

him, as men who were at eaſe and uninclined to venture themſelves upon dangerous or doubtful enterprizes. They complained that when they imparted to them, or any one of them (for they knew not of his majeſty's reference to them, but had of themſelves reſorted to them as men of the greateſt reputation for their affections and experience) a deſign which had been well conſulted and deliberated by thoſe, who meant to venture their own lives in the execution of it, they made ſo many excuſes and arguments and objections againſt it, as if it were wholly unadviſed and unpracticable; and when they propoſed the meeting and conferring with ſome of the officers, who were reſolved to ſerve his majeſty, and were willing to adviſe with them, as men of more intereſt, and who had managed greater commands, upon the places of rendezvous, and what method ſhould be obſerved in the enterprizes, making no ſcruples themſelves to receive orders from them, or do all things they ſhould require, which might advance his majeſty's ſervice, theſe gentlemen only wiſhed them to take heed they were not deſtroyed, and poſitively refuſed to meet or confer with any of the officers of the army, and hereupon they ſaid all the king's party was ſo incenſed againſt them, that they no more would have recourſe to them, or make any conjunctions with them.

They informed his majeſty at large of the animoſity that was grown between two of the principal perſons, and the original cauſe thereof; and therefore deſired that ſome perſon might be ſent, to whom they might repair for orders, until the king himſelf diſcerned that all preparations were in ſuch a readineſs, that he might reaſonably venture his royal perſon with them. Though he was not at all ſatisfied with the grounds of their expectations and proceedings,

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and therefore could not blame the wariness and reservedness of the other, and thought their apprehension of being betrayed (which, in the language of that time was called trepanned) which befel some men every day, very reasonable; yet the confidence of many honest men, who were sure to pay dear for any rash undertaking,; and their presumption, in appointing a peremptory day for a general rendezvous over the kingdom; but especially the division of his friends, and sharpness against those upon whom he principally relied, was the cause of his sending over the lord Rochester, and of his own concealment in Zealand; the success whereof, and the ill consequences of those precipitate resolutions, in the slaughter of many worthy and gallant gentlemen, with all the circumstances of insolence and barbarity, are mentioned in their proper places. But these unhappy and fatal miscarriages, and the sad spectacles which ensued, made not those impressions upon the affections and spirits of the king's friends, as they ought to have done, nor rendered the wariness and discretion of those who had dissuaded the enterprize, and who were always imprisoned upon suspicion, how innocent soever, the more valued and esteem'd: on the contrary, it increased the reproaches against them, as if their want of appearance and engaging, had been the sole cause of the misfortune: and after some short fits of dejection, and acquiescence, upon the shedding so much blood of their friends and confederates, the notorious discovery of their being betrayed by those who had been trusted by them, of the army, they began again to resume courage to meet, and enter upon new councils and designs, imputing the former want of success to the want of skill and conduct in the undertakers, not to the all-seeing vigilance of Cromwell and his instruments, or to the former strength of his government,

not

not to be ſhaken by weak or ill ſecunded conſpiracies; young men were grown up, who inherited their fathers malignity, and were too impatient to revenge their death; or to be even with their oppreſſors; and ſo entered into new combinations, as unſkilful, and therefore as unfortunate as the former; and, being diſcovered even before they were formed, Cromwell had occaſion given him to make himſelf more terrible in new executions, and to exerciſe greater tyranny upon the whole party, in impriſonments, penalties, and ſequeſtrations, making thoſe who heartily deſired to be quiet, and as much abhorred any raſh and deſperate inſurrection, to pay their full ſhares for the folly of the other, as if all were animated by the ſame ſpirit: and this unjuſt and unreaſonable rigour, increaſed the reproaches and animoſities in the king's friends againſt each other; the wiſer and more ſober part, who had moſt experience, and knew how impoſſible it was to ſucceed in ſuch enterprizes, and had yet preſerved or redeemed enough of their fortunes to ſit ſtill and expect ſome hopeful revolution, were unexpreſſedly offended, and bitterly inveighed againſt thoſe, who without any reaſon diſturbed their peace and quiet, by provoking the ſtate to freſh perſecution of them, who had given them no offence: and the other ſtirring and enraged party, with more fierceneſs and diſdain, proteſted againſt and reviled thoſe who refuſed to join with them, as men who had ſpent all their ſtock of allegiance, and meant to acquieſce with what they had left under the tyranny, and in the ſubjection of Cromwell: and thus they who did really wiſh the ſame things, and equally the overthrow of that government, which hindered the reſtoration of the king, grew into more implacable jealouſies and virulencies againſt each other, than againſt that power that oppreſſed them both, and poured out their blood like water; and

either

either party convey'd their apologies and accuſations to the king, one inſiſting upon the impertinence of all ſuch attempts, and others inſiſting that they were ready for a very ſolid and well governed enterprize, were ſure to be poſſeſſed of very good towns, if by his majeſty's poſitive command, the reſt who profeſſed ſuch obedience to him, would join with them.

It was at this time, and upon theſe reaſons that the king ſent the marquis of Ormond into England to find out and diſcover whether in truth there was any ſober preparations and readineſs for action; and then to head and conduct it. Or if it was not ripe, to compoſe the ſeveral diſtempers, and unite, as far as was poſſible, all who wiſhed well, to concur in the ſame patience for the preſent, and in the ſame activity, when it ſhould be ſeaſonable, and he upon full conference with the principal perſons of the moſt contradictory judgments, quickly found that they who were accuſed to be lazy and unactive, were in truth diſcreet men, and as ready vigorouſly to appear as the other, when the ſeaſon ſhould be adviſeable, which he clearly diſcerned it was not then; and that the preſumption of the other upon perſons as well as places, was in no degree to be depended on; and ſo after he had done what was poſſible towards making a good intelligence between tempers and underſtandings ſo different, the marquis had the ſame good fortune to retire from thence, and bring himſelf ſafe to the king, which was the more wonderful preſervation, in that during the whole time of his abode in London, he had truſted no man more, nor conferred with any man ſo much as with that perſon of the ſelect knot, who had been corrupted to give all intelligence to Cromwell; and as he had now blaſted and diverted ſome ill laid deſigns, ſo he had diſcovered the marquis's arrival to

him,

him, but could not be prevailed with to inform him of his lodging, which was particularly known to him upon every change, or to contrive any way for his apprehenſion. On the contrary, as in all his conferences with him, he appeared a man of great judgment and perſpicuity, and the moſt ready to engage his perſon in any action that might be for his majeſty's advantage, ſo he ſeemed beſt to underſtand the temper of the times, and the parts, faculties and intereſt of all the king's party, and left the marquis abundantly ſatisfied with him, and of the general good reputation he had with all men, which had afterwards an ill effect, for it kept the king and thoſe who were truſted by him from giving credit to the firſt information he received from a perſon, who could not be deceived, of his tergiverſation. His late fidelity to the marquis of Ormond weighing down with them all the intimation, until the evidence was ſo pregnant that there was no room for any doubt. After all theſe endeavours by the king to diſcountenance and ſuppreſs all unſeaſonable action amongſt his party, and to infuſe into them a ſpirit of peace and quiet, till he himſelf could appear in the head of ſome foreign forces, which he looked upon as the only reaſonable encouragement that could animate his friends to declare for him, the generous diſtemper and impatience of their nature was incorregible: they thought the expectation of miracles from God Almighty was too lazy and ſtupid a confidence, and that God no leſs required their endeavours and activity, than they hoped for his benediction in their ſucceſs; new hopes were entertained, and councils ſuitably entered upon. Mr. Mordaunt, the younger ſon and brother to the earl of Peterborough, who was too young in the time of the late war to act any part in it, had lately undergone after Cromwell himſelf had taken great pains

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in the examination of him, a ſevere tryal before the high court of juſtice; where, by his own ſingular addreſs and behaviour, and his friends having wrought by money upon ſome of the witneſſes to abſent themſelves, he was by one ſingle voice acquitted, and after a long detention in priſon, by the indignation of Cromwell, who well knew his guilt, and againſt the rules and forms of their own juſtice he was diſcharged (after moſt of his aſſociates were publickly and barbarouſly put to ſeveral kinds of death) and no ſooner found himſelf at liberty, than he engaged in new intrigues how he might deſtroy that government that was ſo near deſtroying him. The ſtate of the kingdom was indeed altered, and he had encouragement to hope well, which former undertakers and himſelf had been wont. Cromwell had entered into a war with Spain, and the king was received and permitted to live in Flanders with ſome exhibition from that king for his ſupport, and aſſurance of an army to embark for England, which made a great noiſe, and raiſed the broken hearts of his friends after ſo many diſtreſſes, which his majeſty was contented ſhould be generally reputed to be greater and in more forwardneſs than there was cauſe for. He had likewiſe another advantage much ſuperior, and of more importance than the other, by the death of Cromwell, which fell out without or beyond expectation, which ſeemed to put an end to all his ſtratagems, and to diſſolve the whole frame of government in the three kingdoms; and to open many doors to the king to enter upon that which every body knew to be his own; and though this reaſonable hope was ſooner than could be imagined, blaſted and extinguiſhed by the univerſal ſubmiſſion to the declaration Cromwell had made at his death, that his ſon Richard

ſhould ſucceed him, upon which he was declared protector by the council, army and navy, with the concurrence of the forces of the three kingdoms, and the addreſſes of all the counties in England, with news of their obedience, inſomuch as he appeared in the eyes of all men as formidably ſettled as his father had been; yet Mr. Mordaunt proceeded with alacrity in his deſign contrary to the opinion and advice of thoſe with whom he was obliged to conſult, who thought the conjuncture as unfavourable as any that was paſt, and looked upon Mr. Mordaunt as a raſh young man, of a daring ſpirit, without any experience in military affairs; and upon themſelves as unkindly treated by thoſe about the king, in being expoſed to the importunity of a gentleman who was a ſtranger to them, and who was equally qualified with them for the forming any reſolution, which they could not concur in. But the intermiſſion of the ſevere perſecution, which had been formerly practiſed againſt the royal party, in this nonage of Richard's government, gave more liberty to communication, and the presbyterian party grew moſt diſcontented and daring, and the independent leſs concerned to prevent any inconveniency or trouble to the weak ſon of Oliver, whom they reſolved not to obey. Mr. Mordaunt, who had gained much reputation by his ſteady carriage in his late mortification, and by his ſo brisk carriage ſo ſoon after, found credit with many perſons of great fortune and intereſt, as Sir George Booth, and Sir Thomas Middleton the greateſt men in Cheſhire, and North Wales, who were reputed presbyterians, and had been both very active againſt the king, and now reſolved to declare for him. Sir Horatio Townſend, who was newly become of age, and the moſt powerful perſon in Norfolk, where there were many gallant men ready to follow him,

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and many others the moſt conſiderable men in moſt of the counties of England, who all agreed in ſo many ſeveral counties of England to appear upon a day, in ſuch bodies as they could draw together, many conſiderable places being prepared for their reception, or too weak to oppoſe them, and Mr. Mordaunt himſelf ſecretly tranſported and waited on the king at Bruſſels, with that warineſs that he was known to none but to them with whom he was to conſult. The king received by him a full information of the engagement of all thoſe perſons to do him ſervice with the utmoſt hazard, and of the method they meant to proceed in, and the probability, moſt like aſſurance of their being to be poſſeſſed of Glouceſter, Cheſter, Lynne, Yarmouth, all Kent, and the moſt conſiderable places in the Weſt, where indeed his own friends were very conſiderable. Upon the whole matter, the king thought it ſo reaſonable to approve the whole deſign, that he appointed the day, with a promiſe to be himſelf with his brother the duke of York concealed at Calais or thereabout, that they might divide themſelves to thoſe parts which ſhould be thought moſt proper for the work in hand. Mr. Mordaunt lamented the warineſs and want of confidence in thoſe perſons upon whom the king depended, and acknowledged them moſt worthy of that truſt, and of much reputation in the nation, and imputed their much reſervation to the troubles and impriſonments which they had been ſeldom free from, and their obſervation how little ground there had been for former enterprizes, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of want of affection and reſolution in any one of them, and leſs of integrity. But the king was by this time fully convinced where the treachery was, without any blemiſh to any one of the reſt, who needed not to be aſhamed of being deceived by a man whom all the kingdom would have truſted. The ridiculous

dethroning of Richard by the army, and the re-aſſembling that part of the old parliament which was call'd the Rump, and which was more terrible than any ſingle perſon could be, becauſe they preſently returned into their old tract, and renewed their former vigour againſt their old more than their new enemies, rather advanced than reſtrained this combination, too much being known to too many to be ſecure any other way than by purſuing it. So the king and duke, according to their former reſolution, went to Calais and Bologne, and prepared as well to make a deſcent into Kent, with ſuch numbers of men as the condition they were in would permit. How many of thoſe deſigns came to be wonderfully and even miraculouſly diſappointed, and Sir George Booth defeated by Lambert, are particularly ſet down by thoſe who have taken upon them to mention the tranſactions of thoſe times, and from thence the univerſallity of all thoſe who were, or were ſuſpected to be, of the king's party, were, according to cuſtom, impriſoned or otherwiſe evilly entreated, and thereupon a new fire kindled among themſelves, they who had done nothing reproaching them who had brought that ſtorm upon them, and they who had been engaged, more loudly and bitterly curſing the others as deſerters of the king, and the cauſe of the ruin of his cauſe, thro' their want of courage, or, which was worſe, of affection; and ſo all men's mouth's were open'd wider to accuſe and defame each other, than to defend their own integrity and their lives.

I have thought myſelf obliged to renew the memory of all theſe particulars, that the ſeveral viciſſitudes and ſtages may be known, by which the jealouſies, murmurs and diſaffections in the royal party among themſelves, and againſt each other, had mounted to that heighth which the king found them at when he returned; when in truth very

few men of active minds, and upon whom he could depend in any ſuddain occaſion that might probably preſs him, can be named, who had any confidence in each other. All men were full of bitter reflections upon the actions and behaviour of others, or of excuſes and apologies for themſelves, for what they thought might be charged upon them. The woeful vice of drinking, from the uneaſineſs of their fortune, or the neceſſity of frequent meetings together, for which taverns were the moſt ſecure places, had ſpread itſelf very far in that claſs of men, as well as upon other parts of the nation in all counties, and had exceedingly weakened the parts, and broken the underſtandings of many, who had formerly competent judgements, and had been in all reſpects fit for any truſt, and had prevented the growth of parts in many young men, who had good affections, but had been from their entering into the world ſo corrupted with that exceſs and other licenſe of the time, that they only made much noiſe, and, by their extravagant and ſcrandalous debaucheries brought many calumnies and diſeſtimation upon that cauſe, which they pretended to advance. They who had ſuffered much in their fortunes, and by frequent impriſonments, and ſequeſtrations, and compoſitions, expected large recompenſes and reparations in honours which they could not ſupport, or offices which they could not diſcharge, or lands and money which the king had not to give, as all diſpaſſioned men, who knew the conditions the king was obliged to perform, and that the act of indemnity diſcharged all thoſe forfeitures which could have been applied to their benefit, and therefore they who had been without compariſon the greateſt ſufferers in their fortunes, and, in all reſpects, had merited moſt, never made any inconvenient ſuits to the king,

king, but modeſtly left the memory and conſideration of all they had done or undergone to his majeſty's own gracious reflections. They were obſerved to be moſt importunate who had deſerved leaſt; and were leaſt capable to perform any notable ſervice; and none had more eſteem of themſelves, and believed preferment to be more due to them, than a ſort of men who had moſt loudly begun the king's health in taverns, eſpecially if for any diſorders that accompanied it, they had ſuffered impriſonment, without any other pretence of merit or running any other hazard: tho' it was very evident (humanly ſpeaking) that the late combination entered into, and the brave attempt and ingagement of Sir George Booth, how unſucceſsful ſoever in the inſtant, had contributed very much to the wonderful change that had ſince enſued, by the diſcovery of the general affections and diſpoſition of the kingdom, and the averſion from any kind of government that was not founded upon the old principles and the publick or private engagements of very many perſons, who had never been before ſuſpected, whereof though many of the moſt conſiderable perſons had been by the treachery heretofore mentioned committed to ſeveral priſons, yet many others of equal intereſt remained ſtill in liberty, and had a great influence upon the councils both in the parliament and army: yet, I ſay, notwithſtanding this was notorious, a greater animoſity had been kindled in the royal party, and was ſtill purſued and improved among them from that combination and engagement than from all the other accidents and occaſions, and gave the king more trouble and perplexity. It had introduced a great number of perſons who had formerly no pretence of merit from the king, and rather might have been the object of his juſtice, to a juſt title to the greateſt fa-

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vours the king could confer, and which from that time they had continually improved by repeated offices and ſervices, which being of a later date might be thought to cloud and eclipſe the luſtre of thoſe actions which had been before performed by the more antient cavaliers; eſpecially of thoſe who had been obſerved to be remiſs in that occaſion; and therefore they were the more ſolicitous in undervaluing the undertaking, and the perſons of the undertakers, whom they mention'd under ſuch characters and to whom they imputed ſuch weakneſs and levities as they had collected from the ſeveral parts of their lives, as might render them with much diſadvantage; and would by no means admit that any of the good, that afterwards befel the king, reſulted in any degree from that raſh enterprize; but that thereby the king's friends were ſo weakened and more compleatly undone, that they were diſabled to appear in that conjuncture, when the army was divided, and in which they might otherwiſe have been conſiderable enough to have given the law to all parties. Mr. Mordaunt whom the king had created a viſcount before his return into England, and who had been moſt eminent in the other contrivances, in a time when a general conſternation had ſeized upon the ſpirits of thoſe who wiſhed beſt to his majeſty's ſervice, when he reſumed his former reſolutions, ſo ſoon after his head was raiſed from the block, and when the blood of his confederates water'd ſo many ſtreets in the city and ſuburbs, the moſt truſted by the king had totally withdrawn their correſpondence, and deſired that for ſome time no account or information might be expected from them; and therefore it muſt not be denied that his vivacity, courage and induſtry revived the hearts which were ſo near broken before Cromwell's death, and afterwards prevailed with

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many to have more active ſpirits than they had before appeared to have. This gentleman, I ſay, moſt unjuſtly underwent the heavieſt weight of all their cenſures and reproaches; he was the butt at which all the arrows of envy, malice and jealouſy were aimed and ſhot; he was the object and ſubject of all their ſcurrilous jeſts and depraving diſcourſes and relations; and they who agreed in nothing elſe were at unity and of one mind in telling ridiculous ſtories to the king himſelf of his vanity and behaviour; and laying thoſe aſperſions upon him, which were moſt likely to leſſen the king's opinion of him; and to perſuade him that the recompences he had already received were abundantly more than the ſervices he had performed: which kind of inſinuations from ſeveral perſons, who ſeemed not to do it by concert, together with ſome prejudices the noble perſon did himſelf by ſome unſeaſonable importunities, as if he thought he had deſerved very much, did for ſome time draw more ungracious countenance from the king towards him than his own nature diſpoſed him to, or than the other's ſingular and uſeful activity, though liable to ſome levity or vanity, did deſerve; and which the ſame perſons who procured it, made uſe of againſt thoſe who were in moſt truſt about the king, as arguments of the little eſteem they had of thoſe who had done the king moſt ſervice, when a man of ſo eminent merit as Mr. Mordaunt was ſo totally neglected; and did all they could to infuſe the ſame apprehenſions into him, when the truth is, moſt men were effected and more grieved and diſcontented for any honour and preferment which they ſaw conferred upon any other men, than for being diſappointed in their own particular expectations; and looked upon every obligation beſtowed upon any other man, how meritori-

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ous ſoever, as upon a reproach to him, and an upbraiding of his want of merit.

This unhappy temper and conſtitution of the royal party, with whom he had always intended to have made a firm conjunction againſt all accidents and occurrences, which might happen at home, or from abroad, did wonderfully diſpleaſe and trouble the king; and with the other perplexities which are mentioned before, did ſo break his mind, and had that operation upon his ſpirits, that finding he could not propoſe any ſuch method to himſelf, by which he might extricate himſelf out of thoſe many difficulties, and labyrinths in which he was involved, nor expedite thoſe important matters, which depended on the good will and diſpatch of the parliament, which would proceed by it's own rules, and with it's accuſtomed formalities he grew more diſpoſed to leave all things to their natural courſe, and God's providence; and by degrees unbent his mind from the knotty and ingrateful part of his buſineſs, grew more remiſs in his application to it, and indulged to his youth and appetite that licence and ſatisfaction, that it deſired; and for which he had opportunity enough and could not be without miniſters abundant for any ſuch negotiations: the time itſelf and the young people thereof of either ſex having been educated in all the liberty of vice without reprehenſion or reſtraint, all relations were confounded by the ſeveral ſects in religion, which diſcountenanced all former ſorts of reverence and reſpect, as relicks and marks of ſuperſtition. Children asked not bleſſing of their parents, nor did they concern themſelves in the education of their children, but were well content, that they ſhould take any courſe to maintain themſelves, that they might be free from that expence. The young women converſed without any circumſpection or mo-

deſty, and frequently met at taverns and common eating-houſes, and they who were ſtricter and more ſevere in their comportment, became the wives of the ſeditious preachers, or officers of the army. The daughters of noble and illuſtrious families beſtowed themſelves upon the divines of the time, or other low and unequal matches. Parents had no manner of authority over their children, nor children any obedience or ſubmiſſion to their parents; but every one did that which was good in their own eyes. This unnatural antipathy had it's firſt riſe from the beginning of the rebellion, when the fathers and ſons engaged themſelves in the contrary parties; the one chuſing to ſerve the king, and the other the parliament, which diviſion and contradiction of affections was afterwards improved to mutual animoſities and direct malice by the help of the preachers, and the ſeveral factions in religion, or by the abſence of all religion: ſo that there was never ſuch examples of impiety between ſuch relations in any age of the world, chriſtian or heathen, as that wicked time, from the beginning of the rebellion to the king's return; of which the families of Hotham and Vane are ſufficient inſtances, tho' other more illuſtrious houſes may be named, where the ſame accurſed fruit was too plentifully gather'd, and too notorious to the world. The relation between maſters and ſervants had been long ſince diſſolved by parliament that the army might be increaſed by the 'prentices againſt their maſters conſent, and that they might have intelligence of the ſecret meetings and tranſactions in thoſe houſes and families, which were not devoted to them; from whence iſſued the fouleſt treacheries and perfidiouſneſs that was ever practiſed, and the blood of the maſter was frequently the price of the ſervants villany.

Cromwell

Cromwell had been moſt ſtrict and ſevere in the forming the manners of the army, and in chaſtiſing all irregularities, inſomuch that ſure there never was any ſuch body of men, ſo without rapine, ſwearing, drinking, or any other debauchery, but the wickedneſs of their hearts, and all perſons cheriſhed by him were of the ſame leven, and to common appearance without the practice of any of thoſe vices, which were moſt infamous to the people, and withdrew the publick hatred upon thoſe who were notoriouſly guilty of them: but then he was pleaſed with the moſt ſcandalous lives of thoſe who pretended to be for the king, and wiſhed that all his friends were ſuch, and took all the pains he could that they might be generally thought to be ſuch; whereas in truth the greateſt part of thoſe who were guilty of theſe diſorders, were young men who had never ſeen the king, and had been born and bred in thoſe corrupt times, when there was no king in Iſrael. He was equally delighted with the luxury and voluptuouſneſs of the presbyterians, who in contempt of the thrift, ſordidneſs, and affected ill breeding of the independents, thought it became them to live more generouſly, and were not ſtrict in reſtraining and mortifying the unruly and inordinate appetite of fleſh and blood, but indulged it with too much and too open ſcandal; from which he reap'd no ſmall advantage, and wiſhed all thoſe, who were not his friends ſhould not only be infected, but given over to the practiſe of the moſt odious vices and wickedneſs. In a word, the nation was corrupted from that integrity, good nature, and generoſity, that had been peculiar to it, and for which it had been ſignal, and celebrated throughout the world; in the room whereof the vileſt craft and diſſembling had ſucceeded, the tenderneſs of the bowels, which is the quinteſſence of juſtice and com-

paſſion, the very mention of good nature was laugh'd at, and looked upon as the mark and character of a fool, and a roughneſs of manners, hard heartedneſs, and cruelty was affected in the place of generoſity, a vile and ſordid love of money was entertained as the trueſt wiſdom, and any thing lawful that would contribute towards being rich. There was a total decay or rather a final expiration of all friendſhip, and to diſſuade a man from any thing he affected, or to adviſe him to do any thing he had no mind to do, was thought an impertinence unworthy a wiſe man, and received with reproach and contempt. Theſe delapidations and ruins of the antient candor and diſcipline were not taken enough to heart, and repaired with that early care and ſeverity that they might have been, for they were not then incorrigible, but by the remiſſneſs of applying remedies to ſome, and the unwarineſs in giving a kind of countenance to others, too much of that poiſon inſinuated itſelf into minds not well fortified againſt ſuch infection; ſo that much of the malignity was tranſplanted inſtead of being extinguiſhed, to the corruption of many wholſome bodies, which being corrupted ſpread the diſeaſes more powerfully, and more miſchievouſly.

That the king might be the more vacant to thoſe thoughts and divertiſements which pleaſed him beſt, he appointed the chancellor and ſome others to have frequent conſultations with ſuch members of the parliament as were moſt able and willing to ſerve him; and to concert all the ways and means by which the tranſactions in the houſes might be carried with the more expedition, and attended with the beſt ſucceſs. Theſe daily conferences proved very beneficial to his majeſty's ſervice, the members of both houſes being very willing to receive advice and directions, and to purſue what

they were directed; and all things were done there in good order, and ſucceeded well. All the courts of juſtice in Weſtminſter-hall were preſently filled with grave and learned judges, who had either deſerted their practiſe and profeſſion during all the rebellious times, or had given full evidence of their affection to the king and the eſtabliſhed laws in many weighty inſtances, and they were then quickly ſent in their ſeveral circuits to adminiſter juſtice to the people, according to the old forms of law, which was univerſally received and ſubmitted to with all poſſible joy and ſatisfaction. All commiſſions of the peace were renew'd, and the names of thoſe perſons inſerted therein, who had been moſt eminent ſufferers for the king, and were known to have intire affection for his majeſty and the laws; tho' it was not poſſible but ſome would get and continue in, who were of more doubtful inclinations, by their not being known to him, whoſe province it was to depute them: denied it cannot be, that there appeared ſooner than was thought poſſible, a general ſettlement in the civil juſtice of the kingdom, that no man complained without remedy; and every man dwelt again under the ſhadow of his own vine without any complaint of injuſtice and oppreſſion. The king expoſed himſelf with more condeſcenſion, than was neceſſary to perſons of all conditions, heard all they had a mind to ſay to him, and gave them ſuch anſwers as for the preſent ſeemed full of grace: he was too well pleaſed to hear both men and women of all factions and fancies in religion diſcourſe in their own method, and enlarged himſelf in debate with them, which made every one believe that they were more favoured by him, than they had cauſe, which kind of liberty, tho' it was at firſt accompanied with acclamations and acknowledgments of his being a prince of rare parts and affability, yet it was attended afterwards

terwards with ill conſequences, and give many men opportunity to declare and publiſh that the king had ſaid many things to them, which he had never ſaid, and made many conceſſions and promiſes to them, which he had never uttered or thought upon. The chancellor was generally thought to have moſt credit with his maſter, and moſt power in the council, becauſe the king referred all matters of what kind ſoever to him, and whoſoever repaired to him for his direction in any buſineſs, was ſent to the chancellor; not only becauſe he had great confidence in his integrity, having been with him ſo many years, and of whoſe indefatigable induſtry he and all men had great experience; but becauſe he ſaw thoſe men, whom he was as willing to truſt, and who had at leaſt an equal ſhare in his affections, more inclined to eaſe and pleaſure, and willing that the weight of the work ſhould lie on the chancellor's ſhoulders, with whom they had an intire friendſhip, and knew well that they ſhould with more eaſe be conſulted by him in all matters of importance. Nor was it poſſible for him at the firſt coming to avoid the being ingaged in all the councils of how diſtinct a nature ſoever; becauſe he had been beſt acquainted with all tranſactions, whilſt the king was abroad; and therefore communication with him in all things was thought neceſſary by thoſe, who were to have any part in them; beſides that he continued ſtill chancellor of the exchequer by virtue of the grant formerly made to him by the laſt king, during whoſe time he executed that office, but reſolved to ſurrender it into the king's hands, as ſoon as his majeſty ſhould reſolve on whom to confer it; he propoſing nothing to himſelf but to be left at liberty, to intend only the diſcharge of his own office, which he thought himſelf unequal to, and hoped only to improve his talent that way, by a moſt

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diligent application, well knowing the great abilities of thoſe, who had formerly ſat in that office, and that they found it required their full time and all their faculties, and therefore he did moſt heartily deſire to meddle with nothing but that province; which tho' in itſelf, and in the conſtant perquiſites of it not ſufficient to ſupport the dignity of it: yet was then upon the king's return, and after it had been ſo many years without a lawful officer, thought it would unqueſtionably bring in money enough to be a foundation for a future fortune, competent to his ambition, and enough to provoke the envy of many who believed they deſerved better than he. And that this was the temper and reſolution he brought with him into England, and how unwillingly he departed from it, will evidently appear by two or three inſtances, which ſhall be given in their proper place. However he could not expect that freedom, till the council could be ſettled: into which the king admitted all who had been councellors to his father, and had not eminently forfeited that promotion by their revolt; and many of thoſe, who had been and ſtill were recommended by the general, amongſt whom there were ſome, who would not have been received upon any other title, and until thoſe officers could be ſettled, who might take particular care of the ſeveral provinces.

The king had upon great deliberation, whilſt he was beyond the ſeas, after his return appeared in view, firmly reſolved to reform thoſe exceſſes, which were known to be in the great officers, eſpecially in thoſe of his houſhold, whilſt the places were vacant, and to reform all extravagant expences there; and firſt himſelf to gratify thoſe, who had followed and ſerved him in ſettling them in ſuch inferior offices and places, as cuſtom had put in the diſpoſal

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of great officers, when they ſhould become vacant after their admiſſion; and of this kind he had made many promiſes, and given many warrants under his ſign manual to perſons, who to his own knowledge had merited thoſe obligations: but moſt of theſe predeterminations and many other reſolutions of that kind vaniſhed and expired in the jollity of the return, and new inclinations and affections ſeemed to be more ſeaſonable. The general, who was the ſole pillar of the king's confidence, had by the parliament been inveſted before the king's return in all the offices and commands, which Cromwell had enjoyed: he was lieutenant of Ireland, and general of all the armies and forces raiſed or to be raiſed in the three kingdoms; and it was not fit he ſhould be degraded from either upon his majeſty's arrival. Therefore all diligence was uſed in diſpatching grants of all thoſe commands to him under the great ſeal of England; and that he might be obliged to be always near his majeſty's perſon, he was preſently ſworn gentleman of the bed chamber, and might chuſe what office he liked beſt in the court; whilſt titles and honours were preparing by the attorney and particulars of lands enquired after by the auditors and receivers, which in all reſpects might raiſe him to that heighth which would moſt pleaſe him. He made choice to be maſter of the horſe, and was immediately gratified with it: and thereby all thoſe poor gentlemen who had promiſes and warrants for ſeveral places depending upon that great office were diſappointed, and offerred the king's ſign manual to no purpoſe for their admiſſion. The general in his own nature was an immoderate lover of money; and yet would have gratified ſome of the pretenders upon his majeſty's recommendation, if the vile good houſewifery of his wife had not engroſſed that province, and preferred him,

who offered moſt money before all other conſiderations or motives; and hereby not only many honeſt men, who had ſeveral ways ſerved the king, and ſpent the fortunes they had been maſters of, were denied the recompences the king had deſigned to them; but ſuch men, who had been moſt notorious in their malice againſt the crown from the beginning of the rebellion, or had been employ'd in all the active offices to affront and oppreſs his party, were for money preferred and admitted into thoſe offices, and became the king's ſervants very much againſt his will, and with his manifeſt regret on the behalf of the honeſt men, who had been ſo unworthily rejected: and this occaſioned the murmur and diſcontent, which appeared after the king's return, among thoſe who were not inclined to it, yet found every day freſh occaſions to nouriſh and improve it. The ſettling this great officer in the ſtables made it neceſſary to appoint a lord ſteward of the houſhold, who was a neceſſary officer for the parliament, being by ſtatute appointed to ſwear all the members of the houſe of commons; and to this charge, the marquis of Ormonde had been long deſigned, and was then ſworn, and they had both their tables erected according to the old models, and all thoſe exceſſes which the irregular precedents of former times had introduced, and which the king had ſo ſolemnly reſolved to reform, before it could be ſaid to trench upon the rights of particular perſons. But the good humour, the king was in, and the plenty, which generally appeared, how much ſoever without a fund to ſupport it, and eſpecially the natural deſire his majeſty had to ſee every body pleaſed, baniſhed all thoughts of ſuch providence: inſtead whereof he reſolved forthwith to ſettle his houſe according to former rules, or rather without any rule, and to appoint the officers, who impatiently expected

their promotion; he directed his own table to be more magnificently furniſhed, than it had ever been in any time of his predeceſſors; which example was eaſily followed in all offices. That he might give a lively inſtance of his grace to thoſe who had been of the party, which had been faulty according to his declaration from Breda, he made of his own free inclination, and choice the earl of Mancheſter (who was looked upon as one of the principal heads of the presbyterian party) lord chamberlain of his houſe; who continuing ſtill to perform all good offices to his old friends complied very punctually with all the obligations and duties which his place required, never failed being at chapel, and at all the king's devotions with all imaginable decency, and by his extraordinary civilities and behaviour towards all men, did not only appear the fitteſt perſon the king could have choſen for that office in that time, but rendered himſelf acceptable to all degrees of men, that none but ſuch as were implacable towards all who had ever differved the king, were ſorry to ſee him ſo promoted; and it muſt be confeſſed that, as he had expreſſed much penitence for what he had done amiſs, and was mortally hated and perſecuted by Cromwell, even for his life, and had done many acts of merit towards the king; ſo he was of all men who had ever born arms againſt the king, both in the gentleneſs and juſtice of his nature, in the ſweetneſs and evenneſs of his converſation, and in his real principles for monarchy, the moſt worthy to be received into the truſt and confidence in which he was placed. With his the two other white ſtaves were diſpoſed to, thoſe, to whom they were deſigned when the king was prince of Wales, by his father, and all other inferior officers were made, who were to take care of the expences of the houſe, and were a great part of it. And thus the king's houſe

quickly appeared in full luſtre, the eating and drinking very grateful to all men, and the charge and expence of it much exceeding the precedents of the moſt luxurious times: and this before there was any proviſion of ready money, or any aſſignation of a future fund to diſcharge and ſupport it. All men were ready to deliver their goods upon truſt; but the officers too remiſs in computing the diſburſemets, inſomuch as the debt contracted by theſe exceſſes in leſs than the firſt year broke all the meaſures in that degree, that they could not ſuddenly be retrenched for the future; and the debt itſelf was not diſcharged in many years.

The king had in his purpoſe, long before his return, to make the earl of Southampton, (who was the moſt valued and eſteemed of all the nobility, and generally thought worthy of any honour or office) lord high treaſurer of England; but he deſired firſt to ſee ſome revenue ſettled by the parliament, and that part of the old, which was ſold and diſperſed by extravagant grants and ſales, reduced into the old channel, and regularly to be received and paid, and the cuſtoms to be put in ſuch order, which was not yet granted, but only continued by orders as illegal as the late times had been accuſtomed to; and to the authority whereof he had no mind to adminiſter, before he was willing to receive the ſtaff: and ſo the office of the treaſury was by commiſſion executed by ſeveral lords of the council; whereof the chancellor, as well by the dignity of his place, as by his ſtill being chancellor of the exchequer, was one; and ſo ingaged in putting the cuſtoms likewiſe into commiſſioners hands; and ſettling all the other branches of the revenue in ſuch a manner, as was thought moſt reaſonable: in all debates whereof his majeſty himſelf was ſtill preſent, and approved the concluſion. But after a month

or two ſpent in this method, in the crowd of ſo much buſineſs of ſeveral natures, the king found ſo little expedition, that he thought it beſt to determine that commiſſion, and ſo gave the ſtaff to the earl of Southampton, and made him treaſurer; and the chancellor at the ſame time ſurrendering his office of chancellor of the exchequer into the king's hands, his majeſty, upon the humble deſire of the earl, confered that office upon Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who had married his niece, and whoſe parts well enough qualified him for the diſcharge thereof, tho' ſome other qualities of his as well known brought no advantage to his majeſty by that promotion. And from this time, the chancellor would never intermeddle in the buſineſs of the exchequer, nor admit any application to him in it, however the friendſhip was ſo great between the treaſurer and him; and ſo notorious from an antient date, and from a joint confidence in each other in the ſervice of the laſt king, that neither of them concluded any matter of importance without conſulting with the other: and ſo the treaſurer, the marquis of Ormonde, the general, with the two ſecretaries of ſtates, were of that ſecret committee with the chancellor, which, under the notion of foreign affairs, were appointed by the king to conſult all his affairs, before they came to a publick debate; and in which there could not be a more united concurrence of judgments and affections; yet it was the chancellor's misfortune to be thought to have the greateſt credit with the king for the reaſons mentioned before, and which for ſome time ſeemed to be without envy by reaſon of his many years ſervice of the crown, and conſtant fidelity to the ſame, and his long attendance upon the perſon of his majeſty, and the friendſhip he had with the moſt eminent perſons, who had adhered to that intereſt;

yet he foreſaw and told many of his friends, that the credit, he was thought to have with the king, and which he knew was much leſs than it was thought to be; and his being obliged by the king to conduct many affairs, which were foreign to thoſe which principally concerned and related to his office, would in a ſhort time raiſe ſuch a ſtorm of envy and malice againſt him, that he ſhould not be able to ſtand the ſhock. All men's impatience to get, and immodeſty in asking, when the king had nothing to give, which his majeſty's eaſineſs of acceſs, and that imbecillitas frontis, which kept him from denying, together with reſcuing himſelf from the moſt troubleſome importunities by ſending men to the chancellor, could not but in a ſhort time make him be looked upon as a man that obſtructed all their pretences, in which they were confirmed by his own carriage towards them, which tho' they could not deny to be full of civility; yet he always diſſuaded them from purſuing the ſuits they had made to the king, as unfit or unjuſt for his majeſty to grant, how inclinable ſoever he had ſeemed to them, and ſo inſtead of promiſing to aſſiſt them, he poſitively deny'd ſo much as to endeavour it, when the matter would not bear it. But when he could do courteſies, no man proceeded more chearfully, and more unasked, which very many of all conditions know to be true: nor did he ever receive recompence or reward for any ſuch offices; of which temper of his there will be occaſion to ſay more hereafter.

The firſt matter of general and publick importance, and which reſulted not from any debate in parliament, was the diſcovery of a great affection that the duke had for the chancellor's daughter, who was a maid of honour to the king's ſiſter, the princeſs royal of Orange, and of a con-

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tract of marriage between them, with which nobody was ſo ſurprized and confounded as the chancellor himſelf; who being of a nature free from any jealouſy, and very confident of an intire affection and obedience from all his children, and particularly from that daughter, whom he had always loved dearly, never had, in the leaſt degree, ſuſpected any ſuch thing, though he knew afterwards, the duke's affection had been much ſpoken of beyond the ſeas; but without the leaſt ſuſpicion in any body, that it could ever tend to marriage; and therefore it was cheriſhed and promoted in the duke by thoſe, and only thoſe, who were declared enemies to the chancellor, and who hoped from thence ſome ſignal diſgrace and diſhonour would befall the chancellor and his familly, in which they were more reaſonably confirmed by the manner of the duke's living towards him, which had never any thing of grace in it, but very much of diſfavour; to which the lord Berkeley, and moſt of his other ſervants, to pleaſe the lord Berkeley, had contributed all they could; and the queen's notorious prejudice to him, had made it part of his duty to her majeſty, and which had been a very great diſcomfort to the chancellor, in his whole adminiſtration beyond the ſeas: but now, upon this diſcovery, and the conſequences thereof, he looked upon himſelf as a ruined perſon, and that the king's indignation ought to fall upon him, as the contriver of that indignity to the crown, which, as himſelf from his ſoul abhorred, and would have had the preſumption of his daughter to be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity; ſo he believed the whole kingdom would be inflamed to the puniſhment of it, to prevent the diſhonour which might reſult from it; and the leaſt calamity, that he expected upon himſelf and family, how innocent ſoever, was an everlaſting baniſhment out of the kingdom, and to end his

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days in foreign parts, in poverty and misery; all which undoubtedly must have come to pass on that occasion, if the king had either that indignation, which had been just in him, or if he had withdrawn his grace and favour from him, and left him to be sacrificed by the rage and envy of others: though, at this time, he was not thought to have many enemies, nor, indeed, any who were friends to any other honest men: but the king's own knowledge of his innocence, and thereupon, his gracious condescension and interposition, diverting any rough proceeding; and so a contrary effect to what hath been mentioned, having been produced from thence, the chancellor's greatness seeming to be thereby confirmed, his family established above the reach of common envy, and his fortune to be in a growing and prosperous condition, not likely to be shaken and since after many years possession of this prosperity, an unexpected gust of displeasure took it's rise from this original, and over-whelmed him with variety and succession of misfortunes, it is very reasonable, from before this time, to relate all the passages and circumstances, which accompanied or attended that lady's first promotion to the service of the princess royal, in which the extreme averseness in her father and mother from embracing that opportunity, and the unusual grace and importunity, from them, who conferr'd the honour, being consider'd, there may appear to many an extraordinary operation of providence, in giving the first rise to what afterwards succeeded, though of a nature so transcendent, as cannot be thought to have any relation to it.

When the king resolved, immediately after the murder of his father, to send the chancellor his ambassador into Spain, the chancellor being to begin his journey from the Hague, sent for his wife and children to meet him at Antwerp; and had,

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at that time, only four children, the daughter, who is the ſubject of this diſcourſe, and three ſons, all of ſo tender years, that their own diſcretion could contribute little to their education: theſe children, under the ſole direction of a very diſcreet mother, he left at Antwerp, competently provided for, for the ſpace of a year or more, hoping, in that time, to be able to ſend them ſome further ſupply; and having removed them out of England, to prevent any inconvenience that might befal them there, upon any accident that might reſult from his negotiation in Spain, it being in thoſe times no unuſual thing for the parliament, when it had conceived any notable diſpleaſure againſt a man, who was out of their reach, to ſeize upon his wife and children, and to impriſon them, in what manner and for what time ſeemed reaſonable to them; and from this hazard he was willing to preſerve his. The king was in Scotland, when the chancellor returned from his ambaſſy to Antwerp, where his family had ſtill remained, his children being grown as much as uſually attends the ſpace of two years, which was the time he had been abſent. The fatal ſucceſs at Worceſter about this time had put a period to all his majeſty's deſigns, and he had no ſooner made his wonderful eſcape into France, than he ſent for the chancellor, who left his family, as he had done formerly, and as meanly ſupplied, and made all haſte to Paris, where he found the king, with whom he remained till his majeſty was even compelled to remove from thence into Germany, which was above three years. During that time the princeſs royal had out of her own princely nature and inclination cultivated by the civility and offices of the lady Stanhope, confered a very ſeaſonable obligation upon him, by aſſigning a houſe that was in her diſpoſal at Breda to his wife and children, who had

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thereupon left Antwerp, and without the payment of any houſe rent were more conveniently, becauſe more frugally, ſettled in their new manſion at Breda, where he got liberty to viſit them for four or five days whilſt the king continued his journey to the Spa, and after another abſence of near four years, finding his children grown and improved after that rate. The gracious inclination of the princeſs royal towards the chancellor's wife and children (not without ſome reprehenſion from Paris) and the civility in the lady Stanhope had proceeded much from the good offices of Daniel Oneale of the king's bedchamber, who had for many years lived in good correſpondence with the chancellor, and was very acceptable in the court of the princeſs royal, and to thoſe perſons who had the greateſt influence upon her counſels and affections. The princeſs met the king her brother at the Spa rather for the mutual comfort they took in each other, than for the uſe either of them had of the waters: yet the princeſs engaged herſelf to that order and diet that the waters required, and after near a month's ſtay there, they were forced ſuddenly to remove from thence, by the ſickneſs of ſome of the princeſs's women of the ſmall pox, and reſided at Bonne: where they had been but one whole day, when notice came from the Spa that Mrs. Killigrew, one of the maids of honour to the princeſs, was dead of the ſmall pox. Oneale came in the inſtant to the chancellor, with very much kindneſs, and told him, that if he deſired the king to ſpeak to his ſiſter to receive his daughter in the place of Mrs. Killigrew, he was moſt confident ſhe would do it very willingly; but that ſhe expected the king ſhould ſpeak to her becauſe the queen had writ to beſtow the place, that ſhould firſt fall vacant, on another; and when he found him not inclined to move the king in it, ſaying

he would not be any occaſion to encreaſe the jealouſies, which were already between their majeſties, nor to diſpoſe the princeſs to diſoblige her mother, he frankly offered to move the king without the other's appearing in it. Whereupon the chancellor thought it neceſſary to deal frankly with him, and told him that his daughter was the only company and comfort that her mother had, and who he knew could not part with her; and that for himſelf he was reſolved, whilſt the king's condition continued ſo low, he would not have his daughter in that gaiety, which was neceſſary for the court of ſo young a princeſs: and therefore he conjured him by all the friendſhip he had for him, ſince he ſaw to what reſolution he was fixt, to uſe all his dexterity and addreſs to divert the princeſs from the thought of a bounty that would prove ſo inconvenient to her, and to engage the lady Stanhope in the ſame office. Oneale on the contrary uſed many arguments to him for his compliance with an opportunity that offered ſo much for his daughter's advantage, and which would probably, by the generoſity of ſuch a miſtreſs, be attended with benefits and advantages, which might abſolve him from any further charges for her preferment. He remained not to be ſhaken, and the other deſiſted from his importunity. Shortly after the king took notice of the vacant place in his ſiſter's family, which he thought might in many reſpects be convenient for his dauhter: and therefore offered to move his ſiſter in it on her behalf. The chancellor after he had acknowledged his majeſty's goodneſs with all humility beſought him not to interpoſe his authority with his royal ſiſter, made him a full relation of all that had paſſed between Oneale and him; and of his reſolution not to ſeparate his daughter from his wife, and that one ſhould not live in luſtre, whilſt the other muſt

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be neceſſited to continue in ſo much ſecurity; and thereupon humbly intreated the king to refuſe to interpoſe in that affair. The king told him with a very gracious freedom, that his ſiſter had directly ſpoken to him to move it, becauſe of the letter ſhe had received from the queen, that ſhe had herſelf ſeen his daughter, and was ſo pleaſed with her nature and her humour, which ſhe had an opportunity to obſerve a week together, that ſhe had taken a reſolution within herſelf, and communicated it to the lady Stanhope, that ſhe would take her into her ſervice, when there ſhould be opportunity, and therefore his majeſty wiſh'd him to conſider, whether he would not accept a benefit with all theſe circumſtances, however, adviſed him to wait on his ſiſter, and acknowledge ſo much grace, if he did not intend to make uſe of it. Tho' the chancellor was exceedingly perplexed with the knowledge of all theſe particulars, and underſtood to what miſinterpretation and diſadvantages this obſtinacy might make him liable, yet he changed nothing of his reſolution; and waited upon the princeſs with hope that he might convert her purely upon the inconveniency that might follow upon the conconferring a grace in that conjuncture upon a family ſo inconſiderable to her ſervice.

After he had attended the princeſs, and with all the expreſſions which his gratitude could ſuggeſt to him, magnified the many favours he had received from her, and the gracious inclinations he was informed ſhe had now for his daughter, and he knew no better way (he told her) to return his moſt dutiful acknowledgments than by taking care that ſhe ſhould undergo the leaſt prejudice by her bounty to him, and therefore that he was reſolved not to receive the honour ſhe was inclined to beſtow upon his

daughter, that he had the misfortune to be ill-underſtood by the queen her mother, who would be the more incenſed againſt him, and offended with her highneſs, if the recommendation ſhe had given on the behalf of another lady ſhould be rejected on his behalf, and that in truth he was not able to maintain his daughter in ſuch a condition as that relation did require, and concluded how inconvenient it would be to ſeparate her from her mother, who would be deſolate without her. Her royal highneſs, who heard him with great patience, till he had alledged all the arguments why ſhe ſhould not perſiſt in her gracious diſpoſition, and why he could not receive the obligation, anſwer'd, that ſhe knew well the long and faithful ſervice he had perform'd towards the king her father, and confidence he had in him at his death, that he had continued the ſame fidelity to the king her brother, who was very ſenſible of it, and that ſhe was the more troubled that her mother had entertained any prejudice towards him, which ſhe was ſure proceeded from ſome falſe information, which would ſhortly appear to be ſo; that for her own part ſhe had always paid all duty to her, and would be ready to gratify any worthy perſon who came recommended by her majeſty, but that ſhe would not exclude her own judgement, and be bound to have no ſervants about her perſon but ſuch who ſhould be recommended by her mother, who ſhe could not believe would be ever offended with her for taking the daughter of a perſon who had been of ſo eminent fidelity to the crown: that for the maintenance of his daughter he ſhould take no further care, ſhe knew well enough his condition, and how it came to be ſuch, and that ſhe took the care of that upon herſelf; for what related to his wife's unwillingneſs to part with

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her daughter, her highneſs ſaid ſhe was contented to refer it intirely to her. As ſoon ſhe came hence, ſhe would ſend for her to Breda; and if her mother would not permit her to come to her, ſhe had done, her part, and would acquieſce. There remained nothing for the chancellor to reply, and he remained ſtill confident that his wife (to whom he had writen to confirm her former reſolution of having her daughter ſtill with her) would continue of the mind ſhe had been of. But when ſhe was informed of all that had paſſed, ſhe concluded that all thoſe unuſuall circumſtancs in an affair of that nature were not without ſome inſtinct of providence: and ſo when the princeſs royal ſent for her daughter, ſhe went herſelf likewiſe, and preſented her to her highneſs, to which poſſibly it was ſome motive, that there would remain no objection againſt her own reſidence with her husband; and ſo ſhe preſently removed to him to Collen, where the king then was, and remained for ſome years. Having now ſet down (not improperly I think) the true riſe and ſtory of his daughter's going into that court, with all the particulars which preceded it, I ſhall return to that place, from whence this digreſſion led me, of the publick diſcovery of the duke's affection, and ſhall continue the relation, till an end was put to that great affair by the conſent and approbation of the royal family, and, for ought appeared to the contrary, to the general ſatisfaction of the kingdom.

The chancellor, as ſoon as the king was at Whitehall, had ſent for his daughter, having a deſign preſently to marry her, to which purpoſe he had an overture from a noble family, on the behalf of a well-bred hopeful young gentleman, who was the heir of it; his daughter quickly arrived at her father's houſe, to his great joy, having always had a

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great affection for her, and ſhe being his eldeſt child, he had more acquaintance with her than with any of his children; and being now of an age fit for marriage, he was well pleaſed that he had an opportunity to place her in ſuch a condition, as with God's bleſſing was like to yield her much content. She had not been long in England, when the duke informed the king of the affection and ingagement that had been long between them, that they had been long contracted, and that ſhe was with child; and therefore with all imaginable importunity he begged his majeſty's leave and permiſſion upon his knees, that he might publickly marry her, in ſuch a mannner as his majeſty thought neceſſary for the conſequence thereof. The king was much troubled with it, and more with his brother's paſſion, which was expreſſed in a very wonderful manner, and with many tears proteſting, that if his majeſty ſhould not give his conſend, he would immediately leave the kingdom, and muſt ſpend his life in foreign parts. His majeſty was very much perplexed to reſolve what to do: he knew the chancellor ſo well that he concluded that he was not privy to it; nor would ever approve it: and yet that it might draw much prejudice upon him by the jealouſie of thoſe who were not well acquainted with his nature. He preſently ſent for the marquis of Ormonde and the earl of Southampton, who he knew were his boſom friends, and informed them at large, and of all particulars that had paſſed from the duke to him, and commanded them preſently to ſend for the chancellor to come to his own chamber at Whitehall, where they would met him upon a buſineſs of great importance, which the king had commended to them for their joint advice. They no ſooner meet, than the marquis of Ormonde told the chancellor, that he had a matter to in-

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form him of, that he doubted not but would give him much trouble, and therefore adviſed him to compoſe himſelf to hear it; and then told him, that the duke of York had owned a great affection for his daughter to the king; and that he much doubted ſhe was with child by the duke, and that the king required the advice of them and of him what he was to do. The manner of the chancellor's receiving this adver-tiſement made it evident enough that he was ſtruck with it to the heart, and had never had the leaſt jealouſy or ap-prehenſion of it, he broke out into a very immoderate paſ-ſion againſt the wickedneſs of his daughter, and ſaid with all imaginable eartneſtneſs, that, as ſoon as he came home, he would turn her out of his houſe as a ſtrumpet, to ſhift for herſelf, and would never ſee her again. They told him, that his paſſion was too violent to adminiſter good council to him, that they thought the duke was married to his daugh-ter; and there were other meaſures to be taken, than thoſe which the diſorder he was in, had ſuggeſted to him; where-upon he fell into new commotions, and ſaid, if that were true, he was well prepared to adviſe what was to be done; that he had much, rather his daughter ſhould be the duke's whore than his wife. In the former caſe, no body could blame him for the reſolution he had taken; for he was not obliged to keep a whore for the greateſt prince alive, and the indignity to himſelf, he would ſubmit to the good pleaſure of God. But if there were any reaſon to ſuppoſe the other, he was ready to give a poſitive judgment, in which he hoped their lordſhips would concur with him: that the king ſhould immediately cauſe the woman to be ſent to to the tower, and to be caſt into a dungeon, under ſo ſtrong a guard, that no perſon living ſhould be admitted to come to her; and then, that an act of parliament ſhould be

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immediately paſt for the cutting off her head; to which he would not only give his conſent, but very willingly be the firſt man, that ſhould propoſe it, and whoever knew the man will believe he ſaid all this very heartily. In this point of time, the king entered the room, and ſat down at the table, and perceiving by his countenance the agony the chancellor was in, and his ſwoln eyes, from whence a flood of tears were fallen, he asked the other lords what they had done, and whither they had reſolved on any thing. The earl of Southampton ſaid his majeſty muſt conſult with ſoberer men; that he (pointing to the chancellor) was mad, and had propoſed ſuch extravagant things, that he was no more to be conſulted with: whereupon his majeſty looking upon him with a wonderful benignity ſaid; chancellor, I knew this buſineſs would trouble you, and therefore I appointed your two friends to confer firſt with you upon it, before I would ſpeak with you myſelf; but you muſt now lay aſide all paſſion that diſturbs you, and conſider that this buſineſs will not do of itſelf, that it will quickly take air, and therefore it is fit that I firſt reſolve what to do, before other men uncalled preſume to give their counſel: tell me therefore, what you would have me do, and I will follow your advice. Then his majeſty enlarged upon the paſſion of his brother, and the expreſſions he had often uſed, that he was not capable of having any other wife, and the like: upon which the chancellor aroſe, and with a little compoſedneſs ſaid, ſir, I hope I need make no apology to you for myſelf, and of my own in this matter, upon which I look with ſo much deteſtation, that tho' I could have wiſhed that your brother had not thought it fit to have put this diſgrace upon me, I had much rather ſubmit and bear it with all humility, than that it ſhould be repaired by making

her his wife: the thought therefore I do ſo much abominate, that I had much rather ſee her dead with all the infamy that is due to her preſumption: and then he repeated all that he had before ſaid to the lords of ſending her preſently to the tower, and the reſt; and concluded 'ſir, I do upon all my oaths which I have taken to you to give you faithful counſels, and from all the ſincere gratitude I ſtand obliged to you for ſo many obligations, renew this counſel to you, and do beſeech you, to purſue it as the only expedient that can free you from the evils that this buſineſs will otherwiſe bring upon you; and obſerving by the king's countenance, that he was not pleaſed with his advice, he continued, and ſaid, I am the dulleſt creature alive, if having been with your majeſty ſo many years I do not know your infirmities better than other men. You are of too eaſy and gentle a nature to contend with thoſe rough affronts, which the iniquity and licence of the late times is like to put upon you, before it be ſubdued and reformed; the preſumption all kind of men have upon your temper is too notorious to all men, and lamented by all who wiſh you well: and truſt me an example of the higheſt ſeverity in a caſe that ſo nearly concerns you, and that relates to the perſon who is neareſt to you, will be ſo ſeaſonable, that your reign during the remaining part of your life will be the eaſier to you, and all men will take heed how they impudently offend you. He had ſcarce done ſpeaking, when the duke of York came in: whereupon the king ſpake of ſome other buſineſs, and ſhortly after went out of the room with his brother, whom (as was ſhortly known) he informed of all that the chancellor had ſaid; who, as ſoon as he came to his houſe, ſent his wife to command his daughter to keep her chamber, and not to admit any viſit; whereas before ſhe had always been at

dinner and ſupper, and had much company reſorting to her, which was all that he thought fit to do upon the firſt aſſault, and till he had ſlept upon it (which he did very unquietly) and reflected upon what was like to be the effect of ſo extravagant a cauſe; and this was quickly known to the duke, who was exceedingly offended at it, and complained to the king as of an indignity offered to him; and the next morning the king chid the chancellor for proceeding with ſo much precipitation, and required him to take off that reſtraint, and to leave her to the liberty ſhe had been accuſtomed to; to which he replied that her having not diſcharged the duty of a daughter ought not to deprive him of the authority of a father; and therefore he muſt humbly intreat his majeſty not to interpoſe his commands againſt his doing any thing than his own dignity required; that he only expected what his majeſty would do upon any advice he had humbly offered to him: and when he ſaw that, he would himſelf proceed as he was ſure would become him, nor did he take off any of the reſtraint, he had impoſed. Yet he diſcovered after, that even in that time the duke had found ways to come to her, and to ſtay whole nights with her, by the adminiſtration of thoſe, who were not ſuſpected by him, and who had the excuſe that they knew they were married.

This ſubject was quickly the matter of all men's diſcourſe, and did not produce thoſe murmurs and diſcontented reflections which were expected. The parliament was ſitting, and took not the leaſt notice of it; nor could it be diſcerned that many were ſcandalized at it. The chancellor received the ſame reſpects from all men, which he had been accuſtomed to; and the duke himſelf in the houſe of peers frequently ſate by him upon the woolſack, that he might

the more eaſily confer with him, upon the matters which were debated, and receive his advice how to behave himſelf, which made all men believe that there had been a good underſtanding between them: and yet it is very true, that in all that time the duke never ſpake one word to him about that affair. The king ſpake every day about it, and told the chancellor, that he muſt behave himſelf wiſely, for that the thing was remedileſs, and that his majeſty knew they were married, which would quickly appear to all men, who knew that nothing could be done upon it. In this time the chancellor had conferred with his daughter, without any thing of indulgence, and not only diſcovered that they were unqueſtionably married, but by whom, and who were preſent at it, and who would be ready to avow it, which pleaſed him not; tho' it diverted him from uſing ſome of that rigour which he intended, and he ſaw no other remedy could be applied; but that which he had propoſed to the king who thought nothing of it. At this time there was news of the princeſs royal's imbarkation in Holland, which obliged the king and the duke of York to make a journey to Dover to receive her, who came for no other reaſon, but to congratulate with the king her brother, and to have her ſhare in the publick joy. The morning that they began their journey, the king and the duke came to the chancellor's houſe, and the king after he had ſpoken to him of ſome buſineſs that was to be done in his abſence, going out of the room, the duke ſtayed behind, and whiſpered the chancellor in the ear, becauſe there were others at a little diſtance, that he knew that he had heard of the buſineſs between him and his daughter, and of which he confeſſed he ought to have ſpoken with him before; but that when he returned from Dover, he would give him full ſatisfaction. In the mean

time, he desired him not to be offended with his daughter; to which the chancellor made no other answer, than that it was a matter too great for him to speak of. When the princess royal came to the town, there grew to be a great silence in that affair, the duke said nothing to the chancellor, nor came nor sent to his daughter, as he had constantly used to do: and it was industriously published about the town, that that business was broken off; and that the duke was resolved never more to think of it. The queen had before written a very sharp letter to the duke full of indignation, that he should have so low thoughts, as to marry such a woman (to whom he shewed the letter as not moved by it) and now she sent the king word, that she was on the way to England, to prevent with her authority so great a stain and dishonour to the crown; and used many threats and passionate expressions upon the subject. The chancellor sat unconcerned in all the rumours which were spread, that the queen was coming on purpose to complain to the parliament against the chancellor, and to apply the highest remedies to prevent such a mischief. In the mean time, it was reported abroad, that the duke had discovered some disloyalty in the lady, which he had never suspected, but had now so full evidence of it, that he was resolved never more to see her, and that he was not married: and all his family, whereof the lord Berkeley and his nephew were the chief, who had long hated the chancellor, speak very loudly and scandalously of it. The king carried himself with extraordinary grace towards the chancellor, and was with him more, and spake upon all occasions and before all persons more graciously of him than ever: he told him with much trouble, that his brother was abused, and that there was a wicked conspiracy set on foot by villains, which might in

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the end prove of more diſhonour to the duke, than to any body elſe; the queen was now ready to embark, inflammed and haſtened by this occaſion; and it was fit for the king and the duke to wait on her at the ſhore; but before his majeſty's going he reſolved of himſelf to do a grace to the chancellor, that ſhould publiſh how far he was from being ſhaken in his favour towards him, and to do it with ſuch circumſtances as gave it great luſtre. From the time of his coming into England, he had often offered the chancellor to make him a baron; and told him, that he was aſſured by many of the lords, that it was moſt neceſſary for his ſervice in the parliament but he had ſtill refuſed it, and beſought his majeſty not to think of it, that it would encreaſe the envy againſt him, if he ſhould confer that honour upon him ſo ſoon; but that hereafter, when his majeſty's affairs ſhould be ſettled, and he out of the extraordinary perquiſities of his office ſhould be able to make ſome addition to his ſmall fortune, he would with that humility, that became him, receive that honour from him. The king in a few days after coming to him, and being alone with him in his cabinet, at going away gave him a little billet into his hand, that contained a warrant in his own hand writing to Sir Stephen Fox to pay to the chancellor the ſum of twenty thouſand pounds, which was part of the money which the parliament had preſented to the king at the Hague, and for which he had been compelled to take bills of exchange again from Amſterdam upon London, which was only known to the king, the chancellor, and Sir Stephen Fox, who was intruſted to receive it, as he had done all the king's monies for many years beyond the ſeas; this bounty flowing immediately from the king at ſuch a melancholy conjuncture, and of which nobody could have notice, could not

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but much raiſe the ſpirits of the chancellor, nor did the king's goodneſs reſt here: but the night before he began his journey towards the queen, he ſent for the attorney general, whom he knew to be moſt devoted to the chancellor, and told him that he muſt intruſt him in an affair that he muſt not impart to the chancellor, and then gave him a warrant ſigned for the creation of him a baron, which he commanded to be ready to paſs the ſeals againſt the hour of his majeſty's return, and he would ſee it ſealed himſelf; but if the chancellor came firſt to know it, he would uſe great importunity to ſtop it. The attorney ſaid it would be impoſſible to conceal it from him, becauſe without his privity, and direction he knew not what tittle to give him for his barony. The king replied with warmth, that he ſhould confer with ſome of his friends on the way; and that he would take it ill of him, if there were any delay in it; and if it were not ready for the ſeal at the time of his return, which would be in few days. The attorney came to the chancellor, and told him he would break a truſt to do him a ſervice; and therefore he preſumed he would not be ſo unjuſt as to let him ſuffer by it; and then told him all that paſſed between the king and him: and the chancellor confeſſed that the king's manner of proceeding was ſo obliging, and the conjuncture, in which this honour was given, tho' he had before refuſed it with obſtinacy, made it now very grateful to him; and ſo without heſitation he told him what title he would aſſume, and all was ready againſt the king's return, and ſigned by him, and ſealed the ſame night.

The queen had expreſſed her indignation to the king and duke, with her natural paſſion, from the time of their meeting; and the duke had asked her pardon for having

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placed his affection ſo unequally, of which he was ſure there was now an end; that he was not married, and had now ſuch evidence of her unworthineſs, that he ſhould no more think of her; and it was now avowedly ſaid, that Sir Charles Berkeley, who was captain of his guard, and in much more credit and favour with the duke than his uncle, though a young man of a diſſolute life, and prone to all wickedneſs, in the judgment of all ſober men, had informed the duke, that he was bound in conſcience to preſerve him from taking to wife a woman ſo wholly unworthy of him; that he himſelf had lain with her, and, for his ſake, would be content to marry her, though he knew well the familiarity the duke had with her. This evid nce, with ſolemn oaths, preſented by a perſon ſo much loved and truſted by him, made a wonderful impreſſion on the duke; and now confirmed by the commands of his mother, as he had been before prevailed upon by his ſiſter, he reſolved to deny that he was married, and never to ſee the woman again that had been ſo falſe to him; and the queen being ſatisfied with this reſolution, they came all to London, with a full hope that they ſhould prevail to the utter overthrow of the chancellor; the king having, without any reply or debate, heard all they had to ſay about the affair, and his mother's bitterneſs againſt him: but when, the very next morning after their arrival at London, they ſaw the chancellor (who had not ſeen the king) appear in parliament in the robes of a peer, they thought it to no purpoſe to proſecute their deſign againſt him, whom his majeſty was reſolved to protect againſt any unjuſt perſecution; but the other reſolution was purſued with noiſe and much defamation. The next day after the queen's arrival, all the privy-council, in a body, waited upon the

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queen, to congratulate her return into England; and the chancellor was obliged to go at the head of them, and was received with the ſame countenance that the reſt were, which was very chearful; and, with many gracious expreſſions; and from this time, he put not himſelf in her majeſty's preſence, nor appeared at all concerned in the ſcandalous diſcourſes againſt his daughter. The earl of St. Alban's and all who were near the queen in any truſt, and the lord Berkeley and his faction about the duke, lived in defiance of the chancellor, and ſo imprudently that they did him no harm; but underwent the reproach of moſt ſober men. The king continuing his grace towards him without the leaſt diminution, and not only to him, but to many others that were truſted by him, made it evident that he believed nothing of what Sir Charles Berkeley avowed, and looked on him as a fellow of great wickedneſs, which opinion the king was long kown to have of him before his coming into England and after. In the mean time the ſeaſon of his daughter's delivery was at hand: and it was the king's chance to be at his houſe with the committee of council, when ſhe fall in labour, of which being advertiſed by her father, the king directed him to ſend for the marquiſe of Ormonde, the counteſs of Sunderlands and other ladies of known honour and fidelity to the crown to be preſent with her, who all came, and were with her, till ſhe was delivered of a ſon. The biſhop of Wincheſter in the interval of her great pangs, and ſometimes when they were upon her, was preſent and asked her ſuch queſtions, as were thought fit for the occaſion: whoſe the child was, of whom ſhe was in labour? whom ſhe averred with all proteſtations to be the duke's: whether ſhe had ever know any other man? which ſhe renounced

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with all vehemence, ſaying, ſhe was confident the duke did not think ſhe had, and being asked whether ſhe was married to the duke, ſhe anſwered ſhe was, and that there were witneſſes enough, who in due time ſhe was confident would avow it. In a word her behaviour was ſuch, as abundantly ſatisfied the ladies who were preſent of her innocence from the reproach; and they were not reſerved in the declaration of it even before the perſons who were leaſt pleaſed with their teſtimony: and the marquiſe of Ormonde took an opportunity to declare it fully to the duke himſelf; and perceived in him ſuch a kind of tenderneſs, that perſuaded her that he did not believe any thing amiſs, and the king enough publiſhed his opinion and judgment of the ſcandal. The chancellor's own carriage, that is, his doing nothing, nor ſaying any thing from whence they might take advantage, exceedingly vexed them; yet they undertook to know, and informed the duke confidently, that the chancellor had a great party in the parliament; and that he was reſolved within a few days to complain there, and to produce the witneſſes, who were preſent at the marriage, to be examined, that their teſtimony might remain there, which would be a great affront to him with many other particulars that might incenſe his highneſs. Whereupon the duke, who had been obſerved never to have ſpoken to him in the houſe of peers or any where elſe, ſince the time of his going to meet his ſiſter, finding the chancellor one day in the privy lodgings, whiſpered him in the ear, that he would be glad to confer with him in his lodging, whither he was then going; the other immediately followed, and being come thither the duke ſent all his ſervants out of diſtance, and then told him with much warmth, what he had been informed of his purpoſe to complain to the parliament againſt him, which he did not value or care

for; however if he ſhould proſecute any ſuch courſe, it ſhould be the worſe for him, implying ſome threats what he would do, before he would bear ſuch an affront: adding then, that for his daughter ſhe had behaved herſelf ſo foully, of which he had ſuch evidence as was as convincing as his own eyes, of which he could make no doubt, and that nobody would blame him for his behavionr towards her, concluding with ſome other threats that he ſhould repent it, if he purſued his intention of appealing to the parliament. As ſoon as the duke diſcontinued his diſcourſe, the chancellor told him, that he hoped he would diſcover the untruth of other reports which had been made to him by the falſehood of this, which had been raiſed without the leaſt ground or ſhadow of truth: that tho' he did not pretend to much wiſdom, yet no man took him for ſuch a fool, as he muſt be, if he intended to do ſuch an act as he was informed. That if his highneſs had done any thing towards or againſt him, which he ought not to have done, there was one who is as much above him, as his highneſs is above him, and who could both cenſure and puniſh it: for his own part he knew too well, whoſe ſon he was, and whoſe brother he is, to behave himſelf towards him with leſs ſubmiſſion and duty than was due to him, and ſhould be always paid by him He ſaid he was not concerned to vindicate his daughter from any the moſt improbable ſcandals and aſperſions, ſhe had diſobliged and deceived him too much, for him to be over confident that ſhe would not deceive any other man; and therefore he would leave that likewiſe to God Almighty, upon whoſe bleſſing he would always depend, whilſt himſelf remained innocent, and no longer. The duke replied not, and from that time mentioned not the chancellor with any diſpleaſure, and related to the king and ſome other perſons the diſcourſe, that had

had paſſed very exactly. There did not after all this appear in the diſcourſes of men any of that humour and indignation which was expected: on the contrary, men of the greateſt name and reputation ſpake of the foulneſs of the proceeding with the greateſt freedom, and with all the deteſtation imaginable againſt Sir Charles Berkeley, whoſe teſtimony no body believed, not without ſome cenſure of the chancellor, for not enough appearing and proſecuting this indignity: but he would not be moved by any inſtances, which he never afterwards repented. The queen's implacable diſpleaſure continued in the full height, doing all ſhe could to keep the duke firm to his reſolution, and to give all countenance to the calumny. As before this diſcovery of the engagement of the duke's affections, the duke of Gloceſter had died of the ſmall-pox to the extraordinary grief of the king and the whole kingdom, ſo it pleaſed God at this time to viſit the princeſs royal with the ſame diſtemper, and of which ſhe died within few days, having in her laſt agonies expreſſed a diſlike of the proceedings in this affair, to which ſhe had contributed too much. The duke himſelf grew melancholy and diſpirited, and cared not for company, nor thoſe divertiſements in which he delighted; which was obſerved by every body, and which in the end wrought ſo far upon the conſcience of the lewd informer, that he (Sir Charles Berkeley) came to the duke, and clearly declared to him that the general diſcourſe of men, of what inconvenience and miſchief if not abſolute ruin ſuch a marriage would be to his royal highneſs, had prevailed with him to uſe all the power he had to diſſuade him from it: and when he found he could not prevail with him, he had formed that accuſation, which he preſumed could not but produce the effect he wiſhed; which he now confeſſed to

be falſe and without the leaſt ground, and that he was very confident of her virtue: and therefore beſought his highneſs to pardon a fault which was committed out of pure devotion to him, and that he would not ſuffer him to be ruined by the power of thoſe, whom he had ſo unworthily provoked, and of which he had ſo much ſhame that he had not confidence to look upon them. The duke found himſelf ſo much relieved in that part, that moſt afflicted him, that he embraced him, and made a ſolemn promiſe, that he ſhould not ſuffer in the leaſt degree in his own affection for what had proceeded ſo abſolutely from his good will towards him, and that he would take ſo much care of him, that in the compounding that affair he ſhould be ſo comprehended that he ſhould receive no diſadvantage: and now the duke appeared with another countenance, wrote to her whom he had injured, that he would ſpeedily viſit her, and gave her charge to have a care of his ſon. He gave the king a full account of all without concealing his joy, and took moſt pleaſure in conferring with them who had ſeemed leaſt of his mind when he was moſt tranſported, and who had always argued againſt the probability of the teſtimony that had wrought upon him. The queen was not pleaſed with this change, tho' the duke did not yet own to herthat he had altered his reſolution: ſhe was always very angry at the king's coldneſs, who had been ſo far from that averſion which ſhe expected, that he found excuſes for the duke, and endeavoured to divert her paſſion; and now preſſed the diſcovery of the truth by Berkeley's confeſſion as a thing that pleaſed him. They about her, who had moſt inflammed and provoked her, to the ſharpeſt reſentment, appeared more calm in their diſcourſes, and either kept ſilence, or ſpake to another tune than they had done formerly,

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and wiſhed that the buſineſs was well compoſed. All which mightily exerciſed the queen's paſſion, and having come to know, that the duke had made a viſit at the place ſhe moſt abhorred, ſhe broke into great paſſion, and publickly declared, that whenever that woman ſhould be brought into Whitehall by one door, her majeſty would go out of it by another door, and never would come into it again; and for ſeveral days her majeſty would not ſuffer the duke to be in her preſence, at leaſt if he came with the king, ſhe forbore to ſpeak to him, or to take any notice of him; nor could they, who had uſed to have moſt credit with her, ſpeak to her with any acceptation, tho' they were all weary of the diſtances they had kept, and diſcovered well enough where the matter muſt end; and many deſired to find ſome expedient how the work might be facilitated by ſome applications and addreſs from the chancellor to the queen: but he abſolutely refuſed to make the leaſt advance towards it, or to contribute to her indignation, by putting himſelf into her majeſty's preſence; he declared that the queen had great reaſon for the paſſion ſhe expreſſed, and for the indignity that had been done to her, and which he would never endeavour to excuſe; and that as far as his low quality was capable of receiving an injury from ſo great a prince, he had himſelf to complain of a tranſgreſſion, that exceeded the limits of all juſtice divine and human.

The queen had made this journey out of France into England much ſooner than ſhe intended; and upon this occaſion to prevent a miſchief, ſhe had great reaſon to deprecate; and ſo, upon her arrival, ſhe had declared, that ſhe would ſtay a very ſhort time, being obliged to return into France for her health, and to uſe the waters of Bourbon, which had already done her much good, that the enſuing ſeaſon would

with

with God's bleſſing make perfect: and the time was now come, that orders were ſent for the ſhips to attend her imbarkation at Portſmouth, and the day was appointed for the beginning of her journey from Whitehall; ſo that the duke's affair, which he now took to heart, was, as every body thought, to be left in the ſtate it was, and at leaſt under the renunciation and interdiction of a mother: when on a ſudden, of which no body then knew the reaſon, her majeſty's countenance and diſcourſe was changed. She treated the duke with her uſual kindneſs, and confeſſed to him, that the buſineſs, that had offended her ſo much, ſhe perceived was proceeded ſo far, that no remedy could be applied to it; and therefore that ſhe would trouble herſelf no further in it, but pray to God to bleſs him, and that he might be happy: ſo that the duke had now nothing to wiſh, but that the queen would be reconciled to his wife, who remained ſtill at her father's, where the king had viſited her often, to which the queen was not averſe, and ſpake graciouſly of the chancellor, and ſaid ſhe would be good friends with him: but both theſe required ſome formalities, and they who had behaved themſelves moſt diſobligingly expected to be comprehended in any atonement that ſhould be made, and it was exceedingly laboured that the chancellor ſhould make the firſt approach, by viſiting the earl of St. Alban's, which he abſolutely refuſed to do; and being very well acquainted with the arts of that court, whereof diſſimulation was the ſoul, did not believe that thoſe changes, for which he ſaw no reaſonable motive, could be real, until abbot Montagu (who had ſo far complied with the faction of that court as not to converſe with an enemy) viſited him with all openneſs, and told him that this change in the queen had proceeded from a letter that ſhe had newly received from the cardinal, in

which

which he had plainly told her, that ſhe would not receive a good welcome in France, if ſhe left her ſon in her diſpleaſure, and profeſſed an animoſity againſt thoſe miniſters who were moſt truſted by the king; he extolled the ſervices done by the chancellor, and adviſed her to comply with what could not be avoided, and to be perfectly reconciled to her children, and to thoſe who were nearly related to them, or were truſted by them, and that he did this in ſo powerful a ſtile, and with ſuch powerful reaſons, that her majeſty's paſſions were totally ſubdued; and this he ſaid was the reaſon of the ſudden change that every body had obſerved: and therefore that he ought to believe the ſincerity of it, and to perform that part, which might be expected from him in compliance with the queen's inclinations to have a good intelligence with him. The chancellor had never looked on the abbot as his enemy, and gave credit to all he ſaid, tho' he did as little underſtand from what fountain that good will of the cardinal had proceeded, who had never been propitious to him. He made all thoſe profeſſions of duty to the queen, that became him, and how happy he ſhould think himſelf in her protection, which he had need of, and did with all humility implore, and that he would gladly caſt himſelf at her majeſty's feet when ſhe would vouchſafe to admit it. But for the adjuſting this there was to be more formality, for it was neceſſary that the earl of St. Alban's (between whom and the chancellor there had never been any friendſhip) ſhould have ſome part in this compoſition, and to do many good offices towards it, which was to precede the final concluſion. The duke had brought Sir Charles Berkeley to the ducheſs, at whoſe feet he had caſt himſelf with all the acknowledgments and penitence he could expreſs; and ſhe according to the command of the duke accepted his ſubmiſſion, and promiſed

miſed to forget the offence. He came likewiſe to the chancellor with thoſe profeſſions, he could eaſily make, and the other was obliged to receive him civilly, and then his uncle the lord Berkeley waited upon the ducheſs, and afterwards viſiting her father, like a man (which he could not avoid) who had done very much, towards bringing ſo difficult a matter to ſo good an end, and expected thanks from all, having that talent in ſome perfection; that after he had croſs'd and puzzled any buſineſs as much as was in his power, he would be thought the only man who had untied all knots, and made the way ſmooth, and removed all obſtructions. The ſatisfaction the king and duke had in this diſpoſition of the queen was viſible to all men; and they both thought the chancellor too reſerved in contributing his part towards, or in meeting the queen's favour, which he could not but diſcern was approaching towards him, and that he did not entertain any diſcourſes which had been by many entered upon to him on that ſubject with that chearfulneſs and ſerenity of mind, that might juſtly be expected. And of this the duke made an obſervation and kind of complaint to the king, who thereupon came one day to the chancellor's houſe, and being alone with him, his majeſty told him many particulars, which had paſſed between him and the queen, and the good humour her majeſty was in; that the next day the earl of St. Alban's would viſit him, and offer him his ſervice in accompanying him to the queen; which he conjured him to receive with all civility, and expreſſions of the joy he took in it; in which he told him he was obſerved to be too ſullen; and that when all other men's minds appeared to be chearful, his alone appeared to be more cloudy, than it had been, when that affair ſeemed moſt deſperate, which was the more taken notice of, becauſe it was

not

not natural to him. The chancellor anſwered, that he did not know that he had failed in any thing, that in good manners and decency could be required from him; but he confeſſed that lately his thoughts were more perplexed and troubleſome to himſelf, than they had ever been before; and therefore it was no wonder, if his looks were not the ſame, they had uſed to be. That tho' he had been ſurprized to amazement upon the firſt notice of that buſineſs, yet he had been ſhortly able to recollect himſelf, and upon the teſtimony of his own conſcience to compoſe his mind and ſpirits, and without any reluctancy to abandon any thought of his daughter; and ſo leave her to that miſery ſhe had deſired, and brought upon herſelf; nor did the viciſſitudes which occurred after in that tranſaction, and the diſpleaſure and menaces of the duke make any other impreſſion on him, than to know how unable he was to enter into any conteſt in that matter, which in all reſpects was too difficult, and ſuperior to his underſtanding and faculties, and to leave it intirely to the direction and diſpoſal of God Almighty; and in this acquieſcence he had enjoyed a repoſe with much tranquillity of mind, and being prepared to undergo any misfortune that might befal him from thence. But that now he was awakened by other thoughts and reflections, which he could leſs range and govern; he ſaw thoſe difficulties removed, which he had thought inſuperable, but that his own condition muſt be thought exalted above what he thought poſſible, and that he was far leſs able to bear the envy, that was unavoidable, than the indignation and contempt that alone had threatned him. That his daughter was now received into the royal family, the wife of the king's only brother, and heir apparent to the crown, whilſt his majeſty himſelf remained unmarried. The great truſt his majeſty repoſed in

him, infinitely above and contrary to his deſire, was in itſelf liable to envy, and how inſupportable that envy muſt be, upon this new relation, he could not but foreſee; the jealouſies which artificial men would be able to inſinuate into his majeſty, even when they ſeemed to have all poſſible confidence in the integrity of the chancellor, and when they extolled him moſt; and that how firm and conſtant his majeſty's grace and favour was to him at preſent, of which he had lately given ſuch lively teſtimony, and how reſolved ſoever he was to continue it, his majeſty himſelf could not know, how far ſome jealouſies cunningly ſuggeſted by ſome men might by degrees be entertained by him; and therefore upon all the revolvings he had with himſelf, he could not think of any thing, that could contribute equally to his majeſty's ſervice and his quiet, and to the happineſs, and ſecurity of himſelf, than for him to retire from the active ſtation he was in, to an abſolute ſolitude and viſible inactivity in all matters relating to the ſtate; and which he thought could not be ſo well under any retirement into the country or any part of the kingdom, as by his leaving the kingdom, and fixing himſelf in ſome place beyond the ſeas, remote from any court; and having ſaid all this, or words to the ſame effect he fell on his knees, and with all poſſible earneſtneſs deſired the king that he would conſent to his retirement, as a thing moſt neceſſary for his ſervice, and give him his paſs to go and reſide in any ſuch place beyond the ſeas, as his majeſty would make choice of. The king heard him patiently, yet with evidence enough that he was not pleaſed with what he ſaid; and when he kneeled, took him up with ſome paſſion, he did not expect this from him, and that he had ſo little kindneſs for him, as to leave him in a time when he could not but know that he was very neceſſary for his ſervice; that he

had

had reaſon to be very well aſſured, that it would never be in any men's power to leſſen his kindneſs towards him, or confidence in him; and if any ſhould preſume to attempt, they would find cauſe to repent their preſumption. He ſaid there were many reaſons, why he could never have deſigned or adviſed his brother to this marriage: yet ſince, it was paſt and all things ſo well reconciled, he would not deny that he was glad of it, and promiſed himſelf much benefit from it; he told him, his daughter was a woman of a great wit and execellent parts, and would have a great power with his brother, and that he knew ſhe had an intire obedience for him her father, who he knew would always give her good counſel; by which he ſaid he was confident that naughty people, which had too much credit with his brother, and which had ſo often miſled him, would be no more able to corrupt him; but that ſhe would prevent all ill and unreaſonable attempts; and therefore he again confeſſed, that he was glad of it, and ſo concluded with many gracious expreſſions, and conjured the chancellor never more to think of theſe unreaſonable things, but to attend and, proſecute his buſineſs with his uſual alacrity, ſince his kindneſs could never fail him. The next morning which was of the laſt day the queen was to ſtay, the earl of St. Albans viſited the chancellor with all thoſe compliments, profeſſions and proteſtations which were natural, and which he did really believe every body elſe thought to be very ſincere; for he had that kindneſs for himſelf, that he thought every body did believe him; he expreſſed a wonderful joy, that the queen would now leave the court united, and all the king's affairs in a very hopeful condition, in which the queen confeſſed that the chancellor's counſels had been very proſperous; and that ſhe was reſolved to part with great and

kindneſs towards him; and that he had authority from her to aſſure him ſo much, which ſhe would do herſelf, when ſhe ſaw him; and ſo offered to go with him to her majeſty at ſuch an hour in the afternoon as ſhe ſhould appoint. The other made ſuch returns to all theſe particulars, as were fit, and that he would be ready to attend the queen at the time ſhe ſhould pleaſe to aſſign; and in the afternoon the earl of St. Albans came again to him, and they went together to Whitehall, where they found the queen in her bed-chamber, where many ladies were preſent who came then to take their leaves of her majeſty before ſhe begun her journey. The duke of York had before preſented his wife to his mother, who received her without the leaſt ſhew of regret; or rather with the ſame grace, as if ſhe had liked it from the beginning, and made her ſit down by her. When the chancellor came in, the queen roſe from her chair, and received him with a countenance very ſerene; the ladies and others who were near, withdrawing, her majeſty told him, that he could not wonder, much leſs take it ill that ſhe had been much offended with the duke, and had no inclination to give her conſent to the marriage; and if ſhe had, in the paſſion that could not be condemned in her, ſpake any thing of him, that he had taken ill, he ought to impute it to the provocation ſhe had received, tho' not from him. She was now informed by the king and well aſſured that he had no hand in contriving that friendſhip, but was offended with that paſſion, that was really worthy of him; that ſhe could not but confeſs, that his fidelity to the king her husband was very eminent; and that he had ſerved the king her ſon with equal fidelity and extraordinary ſucceſs: and therefore as ſhe had received his daughter as her daughter, and heartily forgave the duke and her, and was reſolved ever

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after to live with all the affection of a mother towards them, ſo ſhe reſolved to make a friendſhip with him, and hereafter to expect all the offices from him that her kindneſs ſhould deſerve. And when the chancellor had made all thoſe acknowledgements, which he ought to do, and commended her wiſdom and indignation in a buſineſs, in which ſhe could not ſhew too much anger and averſion, and had too much forgotten her own honour and dignity, if ſhe had been leſs offended, and magnifying her mercy and generoſity in departing ſo ſoon from her neceſſary ſeverity, and pardoning a crime in itſelf ſo unpardonable; he made thoſe profeſſions of duty to her, which were due to her, and that he ſhould always depend upon her protection as his moſt gracious miſtreſs, and pay all obedience to her commands. The queen appeared well pleaſed, and ſaid ſhe ſhould remain very confident of his affection, and ſo diſcourſed of ſome particulars; and then opening a paper ſhe had in her hands, ſhe recommended the diſpatch of ſome things, which immediately related to her own ſervice and intereſt; and then ſome perſons, who had either ſome ſuits to the king, or ſome controverſies depending in chancery, and the evening drawing on, and very many ladies and others waiting without to kiſs her majeſty's hand, he thought it time to take his leave, and after having repeated ſome ſhort profeſſions of his duty he kiſſed her majeſty's hand. And from that time there did not appear any want of kindneſs in the queen towards him, whilſt he ſtood in no need of it, nor until it might have done him good. Thus an intrigue that without doubt had been entered into, and induſtriouſly contrived by thoſe who deſigned to affront and bring diſhonour upon the chancellor and his family, was by God's good pleaſure turned to their ſhame and reproach, and to the increaſe of the chancellor's

greatneſs and proſperity. And ſo we return to the time from whence this digreſſion led us, and ſhall take a particular view of all thoſe accidents that had an influence upon the quiet of the kingdom; or which were the cauſe of all the chancellor's misfortunes, which tho' the effect of them did not appear in many years, were diſcerned by himſelf as coming and unavoidable, and foretold by him to his two boſom friends the marquis of Ormond and the earl of Southampton, who conſtantly adhered to him with all the integrity of true friendſhip.

The greatneſs and power of the chancellor, by this marriage of his daughter, with all the circumſtances which had accompanied and attended it, ſeemed to all men to have eſtabliſhed his fortune, and that of his family; I ſay, to all men but to himſelf, who was not in the leaſt exalted with it; he knew well upon what ſlippery ground he ſtood, and how naturally averſe the nation was from approving an exorbitant power in any ſubject; he ſaw that the king grew every day more inclined to his pleaſures, which involved him in expence and company that did not deſire that he ſhould attend his buſineſs, or be converſant with ſober men: he knew well, that the ſervants, who were about the duke, were as much his enemies as ever, and intended their own profit only, by what means ſoever, without conſidering his honour; that they formed his council, officers, and equipage, by the model of France, and againſt all the rules and precedents of England, for a brother of the crown; and every day put it into his head, that if he were not ſupplied for all thoſe expences, it was the chancellor's fault, who could effect it if he would; nor was he able to prevent thoſe infuſions, nor the effects of them, becauſe they were ſo artificially ad-

adminiſtered, as if their end was to raiſe a confidence in him of the chancellor, not to weaken it, though he knew well that their deſign was to create, by degrees in him a jealouſy of his power and credit with the king, as if it eclipſed his; but this was only in their own dark purpoſes, which had been all blaſted, if they had been apparent; for the duke did not only profeſs a very great affection for the chancellor, but gave all the demonſtrations of it that was poſſible, and deſired nothing more than that it ſhould be manifeſt to all men, that he had an intire truſt from the king in all his affairs; and that he would employ all his intereſt to ſupport that truſt, whilſt the chancellor himſelf declined all the occaſions, which were offered for the advancement of his fortune; and deſired wholly to be left to the diſcharge of his office; and that all other officers might diligently look to their own provinces, and be accountable for them; and deteſted nothing more than that title and appellation which he ſaw he ſhould not be able to avoid, of principal miniſter or favourite; and which was never caſt on him by any deſignation of the king, who abhorred to be thought to be governed by any ſingle perſon, but by his preferring his pleaſures before his buſineſs, and ſo ſending all men to the chancellor to receive advice; and hereby the ſecretaries of ſtate not finding a preſent acceſs to him, when the occaſions preſſed, reſorted to the chancellor, with whom his majeſty ſpent moſt time, to be reſolved by him, which method exceedingly grieved him, and to which he endeavoured to apply a remedy by putting all things in their proper channel, and by prevailing with the king, when he ſhould be a little ſatiated with the divertiſement he affected, to be vacant to ſo much of his buſineſs, as could not be ma-

managed and conducted by any body elſe. And here it may be ſeaſonable to inſert at large ſome inſtances, which I promiſed before, and by which it will be manifeſt how far the chancellor was from an immoderate appetite to be rich, and to raiſe his fortune, which he propoſed only to do by the perquiſites of his office, which were conſiderable at the firſt, and by ſuch bounty of the king, as might hereafter without noiſe or ſcandal be conferred on him, in proper ſeaſons, and occurrences, and as far from affecting ſuch an unlimited power as he was believed afterwards to be poſſeſſed of, and of which no footſteps could ever be diſcovered in any of his actions, or in any one particular that was the effect of ſuch power; or that he did deſire any other extent of power, than was agreeable to the great office he held, and which had been enjoyed by moſt of thoſe, who had been his predeceſſors in that truſt.

The king had not been many weeks in England when the marquis of Ormond came to him with his uſual friendſhip, and asked him whether it would not be now time to think of making a fortune, that he might be able to leave to his wife and children if he ſhould die; and when he found he was leſs ſenſible of what he propoſed, than he expected, and that he only anſwered, he knew not which way to go about it; the marquis told him, that he thought he could commend a proper ſuit for him to make to the king; and if his modeſty would not permit him to move the king for himſelf, he would undertake to move it for him, and was confident that the king would willingly grant it; and thereupon ſhewed him a paper, which contained the king's juſt title to ten thouſand acres of land in the great level of the fenns, which would be of a good yearly value; or they who were unjuſtly poſſeſſed of it, would be glad to purchaſe

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the king's title with a very conſiderable ſum of money, and in the end he frankly told him he made this overture to him with the king's approbation, who had been moved in it, and thought at firſt ſight out of his own goodneſs that it might be fit for him, and wiſhed the marquis to propoſe it to him. When the chancellor had extolled the king's generoſity, that he would in ſo great neceſſity of his own think of diſpenſing ſo great a bounty upon a poor ſervant, who was already recompenſed beyond what he could be ever able to deſerve; he ſaid, that he knew very well the king's title to that land, of which he was in poſſeſſion before the rebellion began; which the old and new adventurers now claimed by an ordinance of parliament, which could not deprive the crown of its' right, which all the adventurers (who for the greateſt part were worthy men) well knew, and would for their own ſakes not diſpute, ſince it would inevitably produce a new inundation, which all their unity and conſent in maintaining the banks would and could with difficulty enough but prevent, that he would adviſe his majeſty to give all the countenance he could to the carrying on and perfecting that great work, which was of great benefit as well as honour to the publick, at the charge of private gentlemen, who had paid dear for the land they had recovered; but that he would never adviſe him to begin his reign with the alienation of ſuch a parcel of land from the crown to any one particular ſubject, who could never bear the envy of it; that his majeſty ought to reſerve that revenue to himſelf, which was great, tho' leſs than it was generally reputed to be, at leaſt till the value thereof ſhould be clearly underſtood; and the detaining it in his own hands for ſome time would be the beſt expedient towards the finiſhing all the banks, which elſe would be neglected by the diſorder among the adven-

turers. When the ſeaſon was fit, and the king knew what he gave, he muſt remember that he had two brothers (for the duke of Gloceſter was yet alive) who were without any revenue, and towards whom his bounty was to be firſt extended; and that this land would be a good ingredient towards an appendage for them both, and that, till they were reaſonably provided for, no private man in his wits would be the object of any extrordinary bounty from the king, which would undoubtedly make him the object of a univerſal envy and hatred; that for his own part he held by the king's favour the greateſt office in the kingdom in place; and tho' it was not near the value it was eſteemed to be, and that many other offices were more profitable, yet it was enough for him, and would be a good foundation to improve his fortune, ſo that he ſaid he had made a reſolution to himſelf, which he thought he ſhould not alter, not to make haſte to be rich. That it was the principal part or obligation of his office to perſuade the king from making any grants of ſuch a nature (except where the neceſſity or convenience was very notorious) and even to ſtop thoſe, which ſhould be made of that kind, and not to ſuffer them to paſs the ſeals, till he had again waited upon the king and informed him, of the evil conſequences of thoſe grants, which diſcharge of his duty could not but raiſe him many enemies, who ſhould not have the advantage to ſay, that he obſtructed the king's bounty towards other men, when he made it very profuſe towards himſelf; and therefore that he would never receive any crown-land from the king's gift, and did not wiſh to have other honour, or any advantage but what his office brought him, till ſeven years ſhould paſs, in which all the diſtractions of the kingdom might be compoſed, and the neceſſities thereof ſo provided for, that the

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king might be able without hurting himſelf, to exerciſe ſome liberality towards his ſervants, who had ſerved him well. How he ſeemed to part from this reſolntion in ſome particulars afterwards, and why he did ſo, may be collected out of what hath been truly ſet down before. When the marquis of Ormond had given the king a large account of the conference between him and the chancellor, and that he abſolutely refuſed to receive that grant, his majeſty ſaid he was a fool for his labour, and that he would be much better in being envied than pitied, and tho' the inheritance of thoſe lands was afterwards given to the duke, yet there were ſuch eſtates granted for years to many particular perſons, moſt whereof had never merited them by any ſervice, that half the value thereof never came to his highneſs.

As ſoon as the king and the duke returned from Portſmouth, where they had ſeen the queen imbarked for France, the king had appointed a chapter for the electing ſome knights of the garter into the places vacant; upon which the duke deſired him to nominate the chancellor, which his majeſty ſaid he was willing to do; but he knew not whether it would be grateful to him, for he had refuſed ſo many things, that he knew not what he would take: and therefore wiſhed him to take about to Worceſter-houſe, and propoſe it to him, and he would not go to the chapter, till his highneſs returned. The duke told the chancellor, what had paſſed between the king and him, and that he was come only to know his mind, and could not imagine but ſuch an honour would pleaſe him. The chancellor after a million of humble acknowledgments of the duke's grace, and of the king's condeſcenſion, ſaid, that the honour was indeed too great by much for him to ſuſtain; that there were very many worthy men who well remembered him of their own condition,

when he firſt entered into his father's ſervice; and believed that he was advanced too much before them; he beſought his highneſs that this favour and protection might not expoſe him to envy, that would break him in pieces; he asked what knights the king meant to make, the duke named them, all perſons very eminent; the chancellor ſaid no man could except againſt the king's choice, many would juſtly if he were added to the number; he deſired his highneſs to put the king in mind of the earl of Lindſey lord high-chamberlain of England (with whom he was known to have no friendſhip; on the contrary, that there had been diſguſts between them in the laſt king's time) that his father had loſt his life with the garter about his neck, when this gentleman his ſon endeavouring to relieve him was taken priſoner; that he had ſerved the king to the end of the war with courage and fidelity being an excellent officer, for all which the king his father had admitted him gentleman of the bedchamber, which office he was now without; and not to have the garter now upon his majeſty's return, would in all men's eyes, look like a degradation, and an inſtance of his majeſty's diſeſteem, eſpecially if the chancellor ſhould ſupply his place, who was not thought his friend; and upon the whole matter entreated the duke to reſerve his favour towards him for ſome other occaſion, and to excuſe him to the king for the declining this honour, which he could not ſupport. The duke replied with an offended countenance, that he ſaw he would not accept any honour from the king, that proceeded by his mediation, and ſo left him in apparent diſpleaſure: however at that chapter the earl of Lindſey was elected knight of the garter with the reſt; and coming afterwards to know by what chance it was, he ever lived with great civility towards the chancellor

cellor to his death. And when the chancellor afterwards complained to the king of his want of care of him in his ſo eaſily gratifying his brother, in a particular that would be of ſo much prejudice to him, and ſo enlarged upon the ſubject, and put his majeſty in mind of Solomon's interrogation, Who can ſtand againſt envy? The king ſaid no more, than that he did really believe when he ſent his brother, that he would refuſe it; and added, I tell you, chancellor, that you are too ſtrict and apprehenſive in theſe things, and truſt me, it is better to be envied, than pitied. The duke did not diſſemble his reſentiment, and told his wife, that he took it very ill, that he deſired the world might take notice of his friendſhip to her father, and that after former unkindneſs he was heartily reconciled to him; but that her father cared not to have that believed, nor would have it believed, that his intereſt in the king was not enough to have no need of good offices from the duke; which diſcourſe he uſed likewiſe, to the marquis of Ormond and others who he thought would inform the chancellor of it; and the ducheſs was much troubled at it, and took it unkindly of her father, who thought himſelf obliged to wait on his royal highneſs, and vindicate himſelf from that folly he was charged with; in which he proteſted to him, that he ſo abſolutely and intirely depended upon his protection, that he would never receive any favour from the king but by his mediation and interpoſition; to which the duke anwered, that he ſhould ſee, whether he would have that deference to him ſhortly. And it was not long before the day of the coronation was appointed, when the king had appointed to make ſome barons, and to raiſe ſome who were barons, to higher degrees of honour; moſt of whom were men not very grateful, becauſe they had been faulty, tho'

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they had afterwards redeemed what was paſt, by having performed very ſignal ſervice to his majeſty, and were able to do him more; upon which the king was reſolved to confer theſe honours upon them, and he had promiſed it to them, or ſome of their friends, before he came from beyond the ſeas. At this time the duke came to the chancellor, and ſaid he ſhould now diſcover, whether he would be as good as his word, and ſo gave him a paper, which was a warrant under the king's ſign manual to the attorney general to prepare a grant by which the chancellor ſhould be created an earl; to which upon the reading he begun to make objections; to which the duke ſaid, My lord I have thought fit to give you this earneſt of my friendſhip, you may reject it if you think fit and departed; and the chancellor upon recollection and conference with his two friends the treaſurer and the marquis of Ormond found he could not prudently refuſe it; and ſo the day or two before the coronation he was with the others created an earl by the king in the Banquetting-houſe; and in the very minute of the creation had an earneſt of the envy which would enſue, in the murmurs of ſome, who were ancienter barons at the precedence given to him before them, of which he was totally ignorant; it being reſolved by the king upon the place, and the view of the precedents of all times, when officers of ſtate were created with others. Yet one of the lords concerned ſwore in the ears of two or three of his friends at the ſame time, that he would be revenged for that affront, which related not to the chancellor's precedence, for the other was no baron; but for the precedence given to another, who he thought his inferior, and imputed the partiality to his power, who had not

not the leaſt hand in it; nor knew it, before it was determined. Yet the other was as good as his word, and took the very firſt opportunity that was offerred for his revenge.

I will add one inſtance more ſufficient, if the other were away, to convince all men how far he was from being tranſported with that ambition, of which he was accuſed, and for which he was condemned. After the firm conjunction in the royal family was notorious, and all the neighbour princes had ſent their ſplendid embaſſies of congratulation to the king, and deſired to renew all treaties with this crown, and the parliament proceeded how ſlowly ſoever, with great duty and reverence towards the king, the marquis of Ormond, whom the king had by this time made duke of Ormond) came one day to him, and being in private ſaid, he came to him to ſpeak to him of himſelf, and to let him know not only his own opinion, but the opinion of his beſt friends, with whom he had often conferred upon the argument, and that they all wondered he ſo much affected the poſt he was in, as to continue in the office of chancellor; which took up moſt of his time, eſpecially all the mornings in buſineſs, that many other men could diſcharge as well as he; whereas he ought to leave that to ſuch a man as he thought fit for it; and to betake himſelf to that province, which nobody knew ſo well how to diſcharge. That the credit he had with the king was known to all men, and that he did in truth remit that province to him, which he would not own, and could not diſcharge, by the multiplicity of the buſineſs of his office, which were not of that moment. That the king every day took leſs care of his affairs, and affected thoſe pleaſures moſt, which made him averſe from the

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other; that he ſpent moſt of his time with confident young men, who abhorred all diſcourſe that was ſerious; and in the liberty they aſſumed in drollery and raillery preſerved no reverence towards God or man, but laugh'd at all ſober men and even at religion itſelf; and that the cuſtom of this licenſe, that did yet only make the king merry for the preſent, yet by degrees would grow acceptable to him; and that theſe men would by degrees have the preſumption, which yet they had not, nor would he in truth then ſuffer it, to enter into his buſineſs, and by adminiſtring to thoſe exceſſes, to which his nature and conſtitution moſt inclined him, would not only powerfully foment thoſe inclinations, but intermeddle and obſtruct his moſt weighty counſels. That for the prevention of all this miſchief, and the preſerving the excellent nature and underſtanding of the king from being corrupted by ſuch lewd inſtruments, who had only a ſcurrilous kind of wit to procure laughter; but had not ſenſe of religion, or reverence for the laws, there was no remedy in view, but his giving up his office, and betaking himſelf wholly to wait on the perſon of the king, and to be with him in thoſe ſeaſons, when that looſe people would either abſtain from coming, or if they were preſent would not have the confidence to ſay or do thoſe things, which they had been accuſtomed to do before the king; by this means he would find frequent opportunities to inform the king of the true ſtate of his affiars, and the danger he incurred by not throughly underſtanding them, and by being thought to be negligent in the duties of religion, and ſettling the diſtractions of the church, at leaſt he would do ſome good in all theſe particulars, or keep the licenſe from ſpreading further, which in time it would do, to the robbing him of the hearts of his people. That

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the king from the long knowledge of his fidelity, and the eſteem he had of his virtue received any advertiſements and animadverſions and even ſuffered reprehenſions from him better than from any other man; therefore he would be able to do much good, and to deſerve more than ever he had done from the whole kingdom, and he did verily believe that this would be acceptable to the king himſelf, who knew he could not enough attend to the many things which being left undone, muſt much diſorder the whole machine of his Government; or being ill done would in time diſſolve it; and that his majeſty would aſſign ſuch a liberal allowance for this ſervice, that he ſhould find himſelf well rewarded and a great gainer by accepting it, and putting off his office; he concluded that was the deſire and advice of all his friends, and that the duke was ſo far of the ſame judgement, that he reſolved to be very inſtant with him upon it; and only wiſhed that he ſhould firſt break the matter to him, that he might not be ſurprized, when his royal highneſs entered upon the diſcourſe; and he added that this province muſt inevitably at laſt be committed to ſome one man, who probably would be without that affection to the king's perſon, that experience in affairs and that knowledge of the laws and conſtitution of the kingdom as all men knew to be in the chancellor.

When the marquis had ended with the warmth of friendſhip, which was ſuperior to any temptation, and in which no man ever excelled him, nor delivered what he had a mind to ſay more clearly, or with a greater weight of words; the chancellor ſaid, that he did not much wonder that many of his friends, who had not an opportunity to know him enough, and who might propoſe to themſelves ſome benefit from his unlimited greatneſs, or might in

truth out of their partiality to him, and by their not knowing the king's nature, believe that his wariness and integrity, and his knowledge of the constitution of the Government, and the nature of the people would conduct the king's councils in such a way, as would tend best to his power and greatness, and to the good and happiness of the nation, which would be the only secure support of his power and authority: but that he, who knew both the king and him so well, that no man living knew either of them so well, should be of that opinion he had expressed, was a matter of admiration and surprize to him: he appealed to him, how often he had heard him say to the king in France, Germany and Flanders, when they two took all the pains they could to fitt the king's mind to a lively sense of his condition, that he must not think now to recover his three kingdoms by the dead title of his descent and right, which had been so notoriously baffled and dishonoured; but by the reputation of his virtue, courage, piety and industry; that all these virtues must center in himself, for that his fate depended upon his person, and that the English nation would sooner submit to the government of Cromwell, than to any other subject, who should be thought to govern the king. That England would not bear a favourite, nor any one man, who should out of his ambition engross to himself the disposal of the publick affairs; he said he was more now of the same mind, and was confident that no honest man of a competent understanding would undertake that province, and that for his own part if a gallows were erected, and he only had the choice to be hanged, or to execute that office, he would rather submit to the first than the last; in the one he should end his life with the reputation of an honest man, in the other he should die

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with diſgrace and infamy let his innocence be what it would. He put the marquis in mind how far the king was from obſerving the rules he had preſcribed to himſelf before he came from beyond the ſeas, and was ſo totally unbent from his buſineſs, and addicted to pleaſures, that the people generally began to take notice of it; that there was little care taken to regulate the expences, even when he was abſolutely without ſupply; that he would on a ſudden be overwhelmed with ſuch debts, as would diſquiet him, and diſhonour his council; of which the Lord Treaſurer was ſo ſenſible, that he was already weary of his ſtaff, before it had been in his hand three months; that the confidence the king had in him, beſides the aſſurance he had of his integrity and induſtry, proceeded more from his averſion to be troubled with the intricacies of his affairs, than from any violence of affection, which was not ſo fixed in his nature, as to be like to be tranſported to any one perſon; and that as he could not in ſo ſhort a time be acquainted with many men, whom in his judgement he could prefer before the chancellor, for the managery of his affairs, who had been ſo long acquainted with them, ſo in a ſhort time he would be acquainted with many, who would by finding fault with all that was done, be thought much wiſer men; it being one of his Majeſty's greateſt infirmities, that he was apt to think too well of men at firſt or ſecond ſight: he ſaid whilſt he kept the office he had, which could better bear the envy of the bulk of the affairs, than any other qualification could, and that it ſupported him in the execution of it, the king felt not the burthen of it, becauſe little of the profit of it proceeded out of his own purſe; and if he were dead to morrow, the place muſt ſtill be conferred on another: whereas if he gave over that adminiſtration, and had nothing

to rely upon for the ſupport of himſelf and family but an extraordinary Penſion out of the Exchequer, under no other title or pretence, but that of being firſt miniſter, a title newly tranſlated out of French into Engliſh, that it was not enough underſtood to be liked; and every man would deteſt for the burthen it was attended with, and the king himſelf, who was not by nature immoderately inclined to give, would be quickly weary of ſo chargeable an officer; and be very willing to be freed from the reproach of being governed by any, the very ſuſpicion whereof he doth exceedingly abhor, at the price and charge of the man, who had been raiſed by him to that inconvenient height above other men: that whilſt he had that ſeal he could have admiſſion to his majeſty as often as he deſired, becauſe it was more eaſy to receive an account of his buſineſs from him than to be preſent at the whole debate of it, and he well knew the chancellor had too much buſineſs to deſire audiences from his majeſty without neceſſary reaſon: but if the office were in another hand, and he ſhould haunt his preſence with the ſame importunity, as a ſpy upon his pleaſures, and a diſturber of the jollities of his meeting, his majeſty would quickly be nauſeated with his company, which for the preſent he liked in ſome ſeaſons; and they who for the preſent had ſubmitted to ſome conſtraint by the gravity of his countenance would quickly diſcover that their talents were more acceptable, and by degrees make him appear grievous to his majeſty and ſoon after ridiculous: that all his hopes was that the king would ſhortly find ſome lady fit to be his wife, which all honeſt men ought to perſuade him to, and that being married he made no doubt he would decline many of thoſe delights, to which he was yet expoſed, and which expoſed him too much;

and till that time he could not think that his beſt ſervants could enjoy any pleaſant lives; that he preſumed the parliament would after they had raiſed money enough to diſband the armies, and to pay off the ſeamen, towards both which ſomewhat was every day done, and both which amounted to an incredible and inſupportable charge, ſettle ſuch a revenue upon the crown, as the king might conform his expence to; and that it ſhould not be in any man's power to make that revenue be eſteem'd by him to be greater than in truth it would be; that when theſe two things ſhould be brought to paſs, he did hope, that the king would take pleaſure in making himſelf maſter of every part of his buſineſs, and not charge any one with a greater ſhare of it, than he can diſcharge, or than will agree with his own dignity and honour: in the mean time he beſought the marquis that he would convert the duke of York and all other perſons from that opinion, which could not but appear erroneous to himſelf by the reaſons he heard, and that if he could be brought to conſent to what had been propoſed to him (and which rather than he would do, he would ſuffer a thouſand deaths) as it would inevitably prove his own ruin and deſtruction, ſo it would bring an irreparable damage to the king, and therefore he conjur'd him to invite the king by his own example and by aſſuming his own ſhare of the work, which for ſome time he had declind, ſince the return into England; and by being himſelf conſtantly with his majeſty to whom he was acceptable at all hours, he would obſtruct the operation of that ill company, which neither knew how to behave themſelves, nor could reaſonably propoſe ſo much benefit to themſelves, as by the propagation of their follies and villanies, and by degree inure his majeſty more proportionably to mingle

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his buſineſs with his pleaſures, which he could not yet totally abandon. The marquis could not deny but that many of the reaſons alledged by the chancellor were of that weight, as ought to prevail with him, and therefore forbore ever after to preſs him upon the ſame particular: and the duke of York ſhortly undertook a conference with him upon the ſame argument, upon which the other durſt not enlarge with the ſame freedom as he had done to the marquis, both becauſe his eyes could not bear the proſpect of ſo many things at once, as likewiſe that he knew he communicated with ſome perſons, who, whatever they pretended, had nothing like good affection for him, ſo that he rather pacify'd his royal highneſs upon that ſubject, and diverted him from urging it, than ſatisfied him with his grounds; and others who wiſh'd well to him and better to the publick acquieſed with his peremptory reſolution, without believing that he reſolv'd well either for his own particular, or the kings affairs, and did always think that he might have prevented his own fate, if he had at that time ſubmitted to the Judgment of his beſt friends; though himſelf remained ſo poſſitive to the contrary, that he often ſaid, that he would not have redeemed himſelf by that expedient, and that he could never have borne that fate with that tranquillity of mind, which God enabled him to do, if he had paſſed to it through that province.

Whilſt the general affairs of England by the long debates in parliament remained thus unſettled, the king was no leſs troubled and perplexed how to compoſe his two other kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland, from both which there were ſeveral perſons of the beſt condition of either kingdom ſent with the tender and preſentation of their allegiance

legiance to his majeſty. And expecting his immediate direction to free them from the diſtraction they were in, and by taking the government upon himſelf into his own hands, to be freed from thoſe extraordinary commiſſions, under which they had been both governed with a rod of iron by the late powers, the ſhifting of which from one faction to another had adminiſtered no kind of variety to them, but they had remained ſtill under the ſame full extent of tyranny: the whole frame of the antient government of Scotland had been ſo entirely confounded by Cromwell, and new modelled by the laws and cuſtoms of England, that is thoſe laws and cuſtoms which the common wealth had eſtabliſh'd, that he had hardly left foot ſteps, by which the old might be traced out again; the power of the nobility was ſo totally ſuppreſſed and extinguiſh'd, that their perſons found no more reſpect or diſtinction from the common people, than the acceptation they found from Cromwell, and the credit he gave them by ſome particular truſt, drew to them; their beloved preſbytery was become a term of reproach and ridiculous, and the pride and activity of their preachers ſubdued and reduced to the loweſt contempt; and the ſtandard of their faith remitted to the ſole order and direction of their commander in chief; all criminal caſes (except where the general thought it more expedient to proceed by martial law) were tried and puniſhed before judges ſent from England, and by the laws of England; and matter of civil intereſt before the ſeveral judges who went twice a year in circuits through the kingdom, and determined all matters of right by the rules and cuſtoms which were obſerved in England. They had liberty to ſend a particular number that was aſſigned to them, to ſit in the parliament of England, and to work there with

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all liberty which they had done; and in recompence thereof all ſuch monies were levied in Scotland, as was given by the parliament of England; by which ſuch contributions were raiſed, as was proportionable to the expence, which the army and garriſons, which ſubdued them, putt the kingdom of England to; nor was there any other authority to raiſe money in Scotland, but what was derived from the parliament or general of England; and all this prodigious mutation and transformation had been ſubmitted to with the ſame reſignation and obedience, as if the ſame had been tranſmitted by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion from king Fergus; and it might well be a queſtion whether the generality of the nation was not better contented with it, than to return in the old road of ſubjection: but the king would not build according to Cromwels models, and had many reaſons to continue Scotland rather within its old limits and bounds and ſole dependance upon himſelf, than unite it to England with ſo many hazards and dangers as would inevitably have accompanied it, under any government leſs tyrannical than that of Cromwell; and the reſettling that kingdom, was to be done with much leſs difficulty than the other of Ireland, by reaſon that all who appeared concerned in it, or for it, as a committee for that kingdom were united between themſelves, and did, or did not pretend to deſire the ſame things. They all appeared under the protection and recommendation of the general, and their dependance was the more upon him, becauſe he ſtill commanded thoſe garriſons and forces in Scotland which kept them to their obedience, and he was the more willing to give them a teſtimony of their affection to the King, and that without their help he could not have been able to have marched

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into England againſt Lambert, that they might ſpeak the more confidendly, that they gave him that aſſiſtance, becauſe they were well aſſured that his intention was to ſerve the king; whereas they did indeed give him only what they could not keep from him; nor did they know any thing of his intention, or himſelf at that time intend any thing fort he king. But it is very true, they were all either men who had merited beſt from the king, or had ſuffered moſt for him, or at leaſt had acted leaſt againſt him, and which they look'd upon as the moſt valuable qualification, they were all, or pretented to be, the moſt implacable enemies to the marquis of Argyl, which was the ſhiboleth by which the affections of that whole nation was beſt diſtinguiſhed. The chief of the commiſſioners was the lord Selkirk, a younger ſon of the marquis of Douglaſs, who had been known by the king in France, where he had been bred a Roman Catholick, which was the religion of his family; but had returned into Scotland, after it had been ſubdued by Cromwell, and being a very handſome young man was eaſily converted from the religion of his father, in which he had been bred, to that of his elder brother the earl of Angus, that he might marry the daughter and heir of James duke Hamilton; who from the battle of Worceſter, where her uncle duke William was killed, had inherited the title of dutcheſs, with the fair ſeat of Hamilton, and all the lands which belonged to her father; and her huſband now according to the cuſtom of Scotland aſſumed the ſame title with her, and appeared in the head of the commiſſioners under the ſtyle of duke Hamilton, with the merit of having never diſſerved the king, and with the advantage of whatſoever his wife could claim, by the death of her father, which deſerved to wipe out of memory whatever had been

done amiſs in his life: the earl of Glancairn was another of the Company, a man very well born and bred, and of very good parts, as he had rendered himſelf very acceptable to the king during his being in Scotland by his very good behaviour towards him, ſo even after that fatal blow at Worceſter he did not diſſemble his affection to his Majeſty; but withdrawing himſelf into the Highlands during the time that Cromwell remained in Scotland he ſent over an expreſs to aſſure the king of his fidelity, and that he would take the firſt opportunity to ſerve him; and when upon his deſire Middleton was deſigned to command there, he firſt retired into the Highlands and drew a body of men together to receive him. He was a man of honour and good principles as well with reference to the church as to the ſtate which few others even of thoſe who appeared moſt devoted to the king, avowed to be, for the Preſbytery was yet their Idol: from the time he had received a protection and ſafeguard from general Monk, after there was little hope of doing good by force, he lived quietly at his houſe, and was more favoured by the general, than any of thoſe, who ſpoke moſt loudly againſt the king; was moſt truſted by him, when he was at Berwick upon his march into England, and was now preſented by him to the king, as a man worthy of his truſt in any eminent poſt of that kingdom. With theſe there were others of leſs name, but of good affections and abilities, who came together from Scotland as commiſſioners, but they found others in London as well qualified to do their country ſervice, and whoſe names were wiſely inſerted in the commiſſion by thoſe, who aſſumed the authority to ſend the other. The earl of Lauderdale, who had been very eminent in contriving and carrying on the king's ſervice, when his majeſty was crowned in Scotland, and thereby had

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brought himself into a very particular esteem with the king; had marched with him into England, and behaved himself well at Worcester, where he was taken prisoner; had besides that merit, the suffering an imprisonment from that very time, with some circumstances of extreme rigour; being a man against whom Cromwell had always professed a more than ordinary animosity; and tho' the scene of his imprisonment had been altered according to the alterations of the government which had succeeded, yet he never found himself in compleat liberty, till the king was proclaimed by the parliament; and then he thought it not necessary to repair into Scotland for authority or recommendation, but sending his advice thither to his friends, he made haste to transport himself with the parliament commissioners to the Hague; where he was very well received by the king; and left nothing undone on his part, that might cultivate these old inclinations; being a man of as much address and insinuation, in which that nation excells, as was then amongst them. He applied himself to those, who were most trusted by the king, with a marvellous importunity, and especially to the chancellor, with whom, as often as they had ever been together, he had a perpetual war; he now magnified his constancy with loud elogiums as well to his face, as behind his back; remembered many sharp expressions formerly used by the chancellor, which he confessed had then made him mad, tho' upon recollection afterward he found to be very reasonable; he was very frolick in all his discourses, called himself and his nation a thousand traytors and rebels, and in his discourses frequently said, when I was a traytor, or when I was in rebellion; and seemed not equally delighted with any argument, as when he scornfully spake of the Cove-

nant, upon which he broke a hundred jeſts; in ſum all his diſcourſes were ſuch as pleaſed all the company, who commonly believed all he ſaid, and concurred with him; he renewed his old acquaintance and familiarity with Middleton by all the proteſtations of friendſhip; aſſured him of the unanimous deſire of Scotland to be under his command; and declared to the king he could not ſend any man into Scotland, who would be able to do him ſo much ſervice in the place of commander as Middleton; and that it was in his majeſty's power to unite that whole kingdom to his ſervice as one man; all which pleaſed the king well: ſo that by the time that the commiſſioners appeared at London, upon ſome old promiſe in Scotland, or new inclination upon his long ſufferings, which he magnified enough, the king gave him the ſignet, and declared him to be ſecretary of ſtate to that kingdom; and at the ſame time declared that Middleton ſhould be his commiſſioner; the earl of Glencairne his chancellor; the earl of Rothes, who was likewiſe one of the commiſſioners and his perſon very agreeable to the king, preſident of the council; and conferred all other inferior offices upon men moſt notable for their affection to the old government of church and ſtate; and the firſt propoſition that the commiſſioners made after their meeting together, and before they entered upon debate of the publick, was, that his majeſty would add to the council of Scotland, which ſhould reſide near his perſon, the chancellor, and treaſurer of England, the general, the marquis of Ormond and ſecretary Nicholas, who ſhould be always preſent, when any thing ſhould be debated and reſolved concerning that kingdom; which deſire ſo different from any that had been in times paſt, perſuaded the king that their intentions were very ſincere. Whatever appear-

ance there was of unity among them, for there was nothing like contradiction, there was a general diſlike by them all of the power that Lauderdale had with the king; who they knew preſſed many things without communication with them; as he had prevailed that the earl of Crawford Lindſey ſhould continue in the office he formerly had of being high-treaſurer of that kingdom, tho' he was known to be a man incorrigible in his zeal for the preſbytery, and all the madneſs of Kirke; and not firm to other principles upon which the authority of the crown muſt be eſtabliſhed: ſo that they could not ſo much as conſult in his preſence, of many particulars of the higheſt moment and importance to the publick ſettlement: yet his having behaved himſelf well towards the king, whilſt he was in that kingdom, and his having undergone great perſecution under Cromwell and profeſſing now all obedience to his majeſty prevailed that he ſhould not be diſplaced upon his majeſties firſt entrance upon his government; but that a new occaſion ſhould be attended, which was in view, and when the king reſolved without communication of his purpoſe to Lauderdale, to confer that office upon Middleton, when he ſhould have proceeded the firſt ſtage in his commiſſion; and of this his reſolution he was graciouſly pleaſed to inform him.

The marquis of Argyle (without mentioning of whom there can hardly be any mention of Scotland) though he was not of this fraternity; yet though he could tell as fair a ſtory for himſelf as any of the reſt; and contribute as much to the kings abſolute power in Scotland as any of the reſt; therefore had no ſooner unqueſtionable notice of the kings being in London, but he made haſte thither with as much confidence as the reſt; but the commiſſioners who were

before him, wrought ſo far with the king, that in the very minute of his arrival he was arreſted by a warrant under the kings hand, and carried to the tower upon a charge of high-treaſon, he was a man like Drances in Virgil.

Largus opum, & linguâ melior, ſed frigida bello
Dextera, conſilis habitus non futilis auctor,
Seditione potens:

Without doubt he was a perſon of extraordinay cunning, well bred, and tho' by the ill placing of his eyes he did not appear with any great advantage at firſt ſight, yet he reconciled even thoſe who had averſion to him very ſtrangely by a little converſation; inſomuch as after ſo many repeated indignities (to ſay no worſe) which he had put upon the late king, and when he had continued the ſame affronts to the preſent king, by hindring the Scots from inviting him, and as long as was poſſible kept him from being received by them; when there was no remedy, and that he was actually landed, no man paid him ſo much reverence and outward reſpect, and gave ſo good an example to all others, with what veneration the king ought to be treated, as the marquis of Argyl did; and in a very ſhort time made himſelf agreeable and acceptable to him: his witt was pregnant, and his humour gay and pleaſant, except when he liked not the company or the argument; and tho' he never conſented to any one thing of moment which the king aſked him, and even in thoſe ſeaſons in which he was uſed with moſt rudeneſs by the clergy, and with ſome barbarity by his ſon the lord Lorne, whom he had made captain of his majeſty's guard, to guard him from

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his friends, and from all who he desired should have access to him, the marquis still had that address, that he persuaded him all was for the best: when the other faction prevailed, in which there were likewise crafty managers, and that his councils were commonly rejected, he carried himself so, that they who hated him most, were willing to compound with him; and that his majesty should not withdraw his countenance from him; but he continued in all his charges, and had a very great party in that parliament that was most devoted to serve the king, so that his majesty was often put to desire his help to compass what he desired: he did heartily oppose the king's marching with his army into England, the ill success whereof made many men believe afterwards, that he had more reasons for the councils he gave, than they had who were of another opinion; and the king was so far from thinking him his enemy, that when it was privately proposed to him by those he trusted most, that he might be secured from doing hurt, when the king was marched into England, since he was so much against it, his majesty would by no means consent to it; but parted with him very graciously, as with one he expected good service from. All which the commissioners well remembred, and were very unwilling that he should again be admitted into his presence, to make his own excuses for any thing he could be charged with, and his behaviour afterwards, and the good correspondence he had kept with Cromwell, and especially some confident averments of some particular words or actions which related to the murder of his father, prevailed with his majesty not to speak with him; in which he laboured by many addresses, in petitions to the king, and letters to some of those who were trusted by him, which were often presented

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by his wife and his ſon, and in which he only deſired to ſpeak with the king, or with ſome of thoſe lords pretending that he ſhould inform and communicate ſomewhat that would highly concern his majeſty's ſervice. But the king not vouchſafing to admit him to his preſence, the Engliſh lords had no mind to have any conference with a man, who had ſo dark a character, or to meddle in an affair that muſt be examined and judged by the laws of Scotland: and ſo it was reſolved that the marquis of Argyle ſhould be ſent by ſea into Scotland, to be tried before the parliament there, when the commiſſioner ſhould arrive, who was diſpatched thither with the reſt of the lords as ſoon as the ſeals and other badges of their ſeveral offices could be prepared: and what afterwards became of the marquis, is known to all men, as it grew quickly to appear that what bitterneſs ſoever the earl of Lauderdale had expreſſed towards him in his general diſcourſes he had in truth a great mind to have preſerved him, and ſo kept ſuch a pillar of preſbytery againſt a good occaſion, which was not then ſuſpected by the reſt of the Commiſſioners.

The lords of the Engliſh council, who were appointed to ſit with the Scots, met with them to conſult upon the inſtructions which were to be given to the king's commiſſioner, who was now created earl of Middleton; the Scots ſeemed all reſolute and impatient to vindicate their Country from the infamy of delivering up their late king; for all things relating to the former rebellion had been put in oblivion by his late majeſty's act of indemnity at his laſt being in Scotland; and ſtrictly to examine who of that nation had contributed to his murder, of which they were confident Argyle would be found very guilty. Middleton was very earneſt, that he might for the humiliation of the

preachers,

preachers, and to prevent any unruly proceeding of theirs in their aſſemblies, begin with the reſcinding the act of the covenant, and all other acts which had invaded the king's power eccleſiaſtical; and then proceed to the erecting of Biſhops in that kingdom according to the antient inſtitution; and with him Glencairne, Rothes, and all the reſt (Lauderdale only excepted) concurred; and avered that it would be very eaſily brought to paſs; becauſe the tyrannical proceedings of the aſſemblies and their ſeveral presbyteries had ſo far incenſed perſons of all degrees, that not only the nobility, gentry, and common people would be glad to be freed from them; but that the moſt learned and beſt part of the miniſters deſired the ſame, and to be ſubject again to the biſhops; and that there would be enough found of the Scots clergy very worthy and very willing to ſupply thoſe chairs. Lauderdale with a paſſion ſuperior to the reſt inveighed againſt the covenant; called it a wicked, traiterous combination of rebels againſt their lawful ſovereign; and expreſsly againſt the laws of their own country; proteſted his own hearty repentance for the part he had acted in the promotion thereof, and that he was confident that God, who was witneſs of his repentance, had pardoned him that foul ſin; that no man there had a greater reverence for the government of biſhops, than he himſelf had; and that he was moſt confident, that the kingdom of Scotland could never be happy in itſelf, nor ever be reduced to a perfect ſubmiſſion and obedience to the king, till the epiſcopal government was again eſtabliſhed there. The ſcruple that only remained with him, and which made him differ with his brethren, was of the manner how it ſhould be attempted; and of the time when it ſhould be endeavoured to be brought to paſs; and then with his uſual warmth, when he thought

it neceſſary to be warm, for at other times he could be calm as any man, tho' not ſo naturally, he deſired that the commiſſioner might have no inſtruction for the preſent to make any approach towards either; on the contrary that he might be reſtrained from it by his majeſty's ſpecial direction; for tho' his own prudence upon the obſervation he ſhould quietly make when he came thither, would reſtrain him from doing any thing which might be inconvenient to his majeſty's ſervice, yet without that he would be hardly able to reſtrain others, who for want of underſtanding out of ill will to particular men might be too forward to ſet ſuch a deſign on foot. He deſired that in the firſt ſeſſion of parliament no further attempt might be made, than in purſuance of what had been firſt mentioned the vindicating their country from all things which related to the murder of the late king; which would comprehend the delivery up of his perſon, the aſſerting the king's regal power, by which all future attempts towards rebellion would be prevented, and the trial of the marquis of Argyle. All which would take up more time than parliaments in that kingdom, till the late ill times, had uſed to continue together. That after the expiration of the firſt ſeſſion in which a good judgement might be made of the temper of that kingdom, and the commiſſioner's prudence might have an influence upon many leading men to change their preſent temper, ſuch further advance might be made for the reformation of the Kirk, as his majeſty ſhould judge beſt: and then he made no doubt but all would by degrees be compaſſed in that particular that could be deſired; and which was the more reſolutely to be deſired, becauſe he ſtill confeſſed that the king could not be ſecure, nor the kingdom happy, till the epiſcopal government could be reſtored,

tored; but he undertook to know ſo well the nature of that people, tho' he had not been in that kingdom ſince his majeſty left it, that if it were preſently, or without due circumſtances in preparing more men, than could in a ſhort time be done, undertaken, it would not only miſcarry; but with it his majeſty be diſappointed of many of the other particulars which he would otherwiſe be ſure to obtain. He named many of the nobility and leading men, who, he ſaid, were ſtill ſo infatuated with the covenant, that they would with equal patience hear of the rejection of the four Evangeliſts; who yet by converſation and other information and application may in time be wrought upon; he frequently appealed to the king's own memory and obſervation when he was in that kingdom, how ſuperſtitious they, who were moſt devoted to do him ſervice, and were at his diſpoſal in all things, were towards the covenant; that all they did for him, which was all he deſired them to do, was looked upon as the effects of thoſe obligations which the covenant had laid upon them; he appealed to the general (who he ſaid knew Scotland better than any one man of that nation could pretend to do) whether he thought this a proper ſeaſon to attempt ſo great a change in that kingdom, before the other more preſſing acts were compaſſed; and whether he did not know that the very preſſing the obligations in the covenant lately in England had not contributed very much to the reſtoration of the king, which the London miniſters confidently urged at preſent, as an argument for his indulgence towards them; and he ſaid tho' he well knew that his majeſty was fully reſolved to maintain the government of the church of England in its full luſtre, which he thanked God for, being in his judgement the beſt government eccleſiaſtical in the world, yet he could

not but obſerve that the king's prudence had yet forborn to make any new biſhops; and had upon the matter ſuſpended the Engliſh liturgy by not enjoyning it out of indulgence to Diſſenters; and to allow them time to conſider and to be well informed and inſtructed in thoſe forms, which had been for ſo many years rejected and diſcontinued; that the people in general, and many of the miniſters had never ſeen or heard it uſed; ſo that the Preſbyterians here remained ſtill in hope of his majeſty's favour and condeſcention, that they ſhould be permitted to continne their own forms or no forms in their devotions and publick worſhip of God. In conſideration of all which he thought it very incongruous, and ſomewhat againſt his majeſty's dignity ſuddenly and with precipitation to begin and attempt ſuch an alteration in Scotland, againſt a government that had more antiquity then, and was more generally ſubmitted to and accepted, than it had been in England, before he himſelf had declared his own judgement againſt it in this kingdom; which he preſumed he would ſhortly do; and which would be the beſt introduction to the ſame in Scotland, where all the king's actions and determinations would be looked upon with the higheſt veneration: he concluded that if the other more vigorous courſe ſhould be reſolved upon, the marquis of Argyle would be very glad of it; for he was generally odious to all degrees of men; yet he was not ſo much hated, as the covenant was beloved and worſhipped; and that when they ſhould diſcern that they muſt be deprived of that they would rather deſire to preſerve both; and therefore he ſaid his advice ſtill was, that he ſhoud be firſt out of the way, who was looked upon as the upholder of the covenant, and the chief pillar of the Kirk, before any viſible

viſible attempts ſhould be made againſt the other, which would aſſuredly be done by degrees.

Many particulars in this diſcourſe confidently urged and with more advantage of elocution, than the falſneſs of his tongue, that ever filled his mouth, uſually was attended with, ſeemed reaſonable to many, and worthy to be anſwered; and his frequent appeals to the king, in which there were always ſome ridiculous inſtances of the uſe made of the covenant, with reference to the power of the preachers in the domeſtick affairs of other men, and the like; which tho' it made it the more odious, was ſtill argument of the reverence that was generally paid to it; all which inſtances were well remembered by the king, who commonly added others of the ſame ſtandard from his own memory, and made his majeſty in ſuſpenſe or rather inclined, that nothing ſhould be attempted that concerned the Kirk till the next ſeſſion of parliament, when Lauderdale himſelf confeſſed it might be ſecurely effected: to this the general ſeemed to incline, not a little moved by what had been ſaid of Argyle, to whom he was no friend; but much more by the diſadvantage which might ariſe by a precipitate proceeding in Scotland to the Preſbyterian party here; and eſpecially to the preachers to whom he wiſhed well for his wife's ſake or rather for his own peace with his wife, who was deeply engaged to that people for their ſeaſonable determination of ſome nice caſes of conſcience, whereby he had been induced to repair a treſpaſs he had committed by marrying her, which was an obligation never to be forgotten: Middleton and moſt of the Scotch lords were highly offended by the preſumption of Lauderdale in undertaking to know the ſpirit and diſpoſition of a kingdom, which he had not ſeen in ten years; and eaſily diſcerned that his affected rail-

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lery and railing againſt the covenant and his magnifying epiſcopal government, were but varniſh to cover the rottenneſs of his intentions till he might more ſecurely and efficaciouſly manifeſt his affection to the one, and his malignity to the other: they contradicted poſitively all that he had ſaid of the temper and affections of Scotland, and named many of thoſe lords, who had been mentioned by him as the moſt zealous aſſertors of the covenant, who they undertook ſhould upon the firſt opportunity declare their abomination of it to the world, whereof they knew there where ſome, who had written againſt it, and were reſolved to publiſh it, as ſoon as they might do it with ſafety. They adviſed his majeſty that he would not chuſe to do his buſineſs by halves, when he might with more ſecurity do it all together, and the dividing it would make both the more difficult, however they beſought him to put no ſuch reſtraint, as had been ſo much preſſed, upon his commiſſioner; that tho' he ſhould find the parliament moſt inclined to do that now, which every body confeſſed neceſſary to be done at ſometime, he ſhould not accept their good will, but hinder them for purſuing it, as very ungrateful to the king, which they ſaid would be a greater countenance to and confirmation of the covenant, than it had ever yet received, and a greater wound to epiſcopacy: and that indeed was conſented to by all, and thereupon the king reſolved to put nothing like reſtraint upon his commiſſioner from effecting that, he wiſhed might be done to-morrow if it could be, but to leave it intirely to his prudence to judge of the conjuncture with caution not to permit it to be attempted, if he ſaw it would be attended with any ill conſequence or hazard to his ſervice; and ſo the commiſſioner with the other officers for Scotland were diſmiſſed to

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their full content, and therewith the king at preſent eaſe, by having ſeparated one very important affair from the crowd of the reſt which remained to perplex him.

That in Ireland was much more intricate, and the intricacy in many reſpects ſo involved, that no body had mind to meddle with it; the chancellor had made it his humble ſuit to the king, that no part of it might ever be referred to him; and the duke of Ormond, who was moſt concerned in his own intereſt that all men's intereſts in that kingdom might be adjuſted, that he might enjoy his, which was the greateſt of all the reſt, could not ſee any light in ſo much darkneſs, that might lead him to any beginning. The king's intereſt had been ſo totally extinguiſhed in that kingdom for many years paſt, that there was no perſon of any conſideration there, who pretended to wiſh that it were revived: at Cromwell's death and at the depoſition of Richard, his younger ſon Harry was inveſted with the full authority by being Lieutenant of Ireland; the two preſidents of the two provinces were the lord Broghill in that of Munſter, and Sir Charles Coote in that of Connaught, both equally depending upon the Lieutenant; and they more depended upon him, and courted his protection by their not loving one another, and being of ſeveral complexions and conſtitutions, and both of a long averſion to the king by multiplication of guilt. When Richard was thrown out, the ſupreme power of the militia was veſted in Ludlow, and all the civil juriſdiction in perſons who had been judges of the king, and poſſeſſed ample fortunes which they could no longer hold, than their authority ſhould be maintained; but the two preſidents remained in their ſeveral provinces with their full power; either becauſe they had not deſerved to be ſuſpected; or

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becauſe they could not eaſily be removed; and being ſtill ſubject to the commiſſioners at Dublin. The next change of government removed Ludlow and the reſt of that deſperate crew, and committed the government to others of more moderate principles, yet far enough from wiſhing well to the king. In theſe revolutions Sir Charles Coote took an opportunity to ſend an expreſs to the king who was then at Bruſſels, with the tender of his obedience with great caution as to the time of appearing; only deſired to have ſuch commiſſions in his hands, as might be applied to his majeſty's ſervice in a proper conjuncture, which were ſent to him and never made uſe of by him; he expreſſed a great jealouſy of Broghill, and an unwillingneſs that he ſhould know of his engagement; and the alterations proceeded ſo faſt one upon another, that they both choſe rather to depend upon general Monk, than upon the king; imagining, as they ſaid afterwards, that he intended nothing but the king's reſtoration, and beſt knew how to effect it; and by ſome private letters, for there was no orders ſent, to Coote and ſome other officers there, that they would adhere to his army for the ſervice of the parliament againſt Lambert, Coote found aſſiſtance to ſeize on the Caſtle of Dublin, and the perſons of thoſe who were in authority, who were impriſoned by them and the Government ſettled in that manner as they thought moſt agreable to the preſbyterian humour, untill the General was declared Lieutenant of Ireland; who then ſent commiſſions to the ſame perſons: who as ſoon as the king was proclaimed, ſent their commiſſioners to the king, who were called commiſſioners from the ſtate, and brought a preſent of money to the king from the ſame with all profeſſions of duty, which could be expected from the beſt ſubjects: theſe were the lord Broghill,

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Sir Audley Mervin, Sir John Clotworthy, and ſeveral other perſons of quality, much the greater number whereof had been always notorious for the diſſervice they had done the king; but upon the advantage of having been diſcountenanced, and ſuffered long impriſonment and other damages under Cromwell, they called themſelves the king's party, and brought expectations with them to be looked upon and treated as ſuch. Amongſt them was a brother and other friends made choice of and more immediately truſted by Sir Charles Coote who remained in the caſtle of Dublin, and preſided in that council, that ſupplied the government and was thought to have the beſt intereſt in the army, as well as in his own province; and thoſe men he ſaid had been privy to the ſervice he meant to have done the king, and expected the performance of ſeveral promiſes he had then made them, by virtue of ſome authority that had been ſent to him to aſſure thoſe who ſhould join with him to do his majeſty ſervice. All thoſe commiſſioners from the ſtate had inſtructions to which they were to conform, in deſiring nothing from the king but the ſettling his own authority amongſt them, the ordering the army, the reviving the execution of the laws, and ſettling the courts of juſtice. All which had been diſſolved in the late uſurpation, and ſuch other particulars as purely related to the publick, and their publick addreſſes were to this and no other purpoſe. But then to their private friends and ſuch as they deſired to make their friends, moſt of them had many pretences of merit, and many expedients by which the king might reward them, and out of which they would be able liberally to gratify their patrons; and by this means all who ſerved the king were furniſhed with ſuits enough to make their fortunes, in which they preſently engaged themſelves with

very troubleſome importunity to the king himſelf, and to all others who they thought had credit or power to advance their deſires. Nor was there any other art ſo much uſed by the commiſſioners in their ſecret conferences as to deprave one another, and to diſcover the ill actions they had been guilty of, and how little they deſerved to be truſted, or had intereſt to accompliſh any ſervice: the lord Broghill was the man of the beſt parts, and had moſt friends by his great alliance to promiſe for him; and he appeared very generous, and to be without the leaſt pretence to any advantage for himſelf, and to be ſo wholly devoted to the king's intereſt, and to the eſtabliſhing the government of the church, that he quickly got himſelf believed; and having free acceſs to the king by mingling apologies for what he had done with promiſes of what he would do, and utterly renouncing all thoſe principles as to the church or ſtate (as he might with a good conſcience do) which made men unfit for truſt, he made himſelf ſo acceptable to his majeſty, that he heard him willingly, becauſe he made all things eaſy to be done and compaſſed; and gave ſuch aſſurances to the bedchamber men to help them to good fortunes in Ireland, which they had reaſon to deſpair of in England, that he wanted not their teſtimony upon all occaſions, nor their defence and vindication, when any thing was reflected upon to his diſadvantage or reproach.

There were many other deputies of ſeveral claſſes in Ireland, who thought their pretences to be as well grounded, as theirs who came from the ſtate: there were yet ſome biſhops alive of that kingdom and other grave divines all ſtript of their dignities and eſtates, which had been diſpoſed of by the uſurping power to their creatures; and all theſe, ſome whereof had ſpent time in baniſhment near the

king, and others more miſerably in their own country and in England under the charity of thoſe who for the moſt part lived by the charity of others, expected, as they well might to be reſtored to what in right belonged to them; and beſought his majeſty to uſe all poſſible expedition to eſtabliſh the government of the church, as it had always been, by ſupplying the empty ſees with new prelates in the place of thoſe who were dead; and that all the ſchiſms and wild factions in religion, which were ſpread over that whole kingdom, might be extirpated and rooted out. All which deſires were grateful to the king and according to his royal intention, and were not oppoſed by the commiſſioners from the ſtate, who all pretended to be well wiſhers to the old government of the church: and the more by the experience they had of the diſtractions, which were introduced by that which had ſucceeded it; and by the confuſion they were now in, without any: only Sir John Clotworthy, who by the exerciſe of very ordinary faculties in ſeveral imployments, whilſt the parliament retained the ſupreme power in their hands, had exceedingly improved himſelf in underſtanding and ability of negotiation, diſſembled not his old animoſity againſt the biſhops, the croſs, and the ſurplice, and wiſhed that all might be aboliſhed, tho' he knew well that his vote would ſignify nothing towards it: and that ſpirit of his had been ſo long known that it was now imputed to ſincerity and plain dealing, and that he would not diſſemble which many others were known to do, who had the ſame malignity with him, and was the leſs ill thought of, becauſe in all other reſpects he was of a generous and a jovial nature, and complied in all deſigns, which might advance the king's intereſt or ſervice.

There appeared likewiſe a committee deputed by the adventurers to ſollicit their right, and was the more numerous by the company of many aldermen and citizens of the beſt quality and many honeſt gentlemen of the country, who all deſired that their right might not be diſturbed, which had been ſettled by an act of Parliament ratified by the late king before the troubles, and that if it ſhould be thought juſt that any of the lands of which they ſtood poſſeſſed, ſhould be taken from them upon what title ſoever, that they might firſt be put into the poſſeſſion of other lands of equal value, before they ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed of what they had already: all that they laid claim to ſeemed to be confirmed by an act of parliament. The caſe was this, when the rebellion firſt broke out in Ireland, the parliament then ſitting, and there being ſo much money to be raiſed and allready raiſed for the payment and diſbanding two armies and for the compoſing or compounding the rebellion of Scotland; where the king was at that time; it had been propounded that the war of Ireland might be carried on at the charges of particular men, and ſo all impoſition upon the people might be prevented, if an act of parliament were paſſed for the ſatisfaction of all thoſe who would advance money for the war, out of the lands which ſhould become forfited; and this propoſition being embraced an act was prepared to that purpoſe, in which it was provided that, forfited lands, in Leinſter, Munſter, Connaught, and Ulſter, ſhould be valued at ſuch ſeveral rates by the acre, and how many acres in either ſhould be aſſigned for the ſatisfaction, of one hundred pounds and ſo proportionably for greater ſums; that all money which ſhould be ſubſcribed within ſo many days, (beyond which time there ſhould

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be no more ſubſcription) for that ſervice, one moiety thereof ſhould be paid to the treaſurer appointed within few days for the preſent preparations, and the other moiety to be paid within ſix months upon the penalty of loſing all benefit from the firſt payment; that when God ſhould bleſs their armies (which they doubted not of) that the rebels ſhould be ſo near reduced that they ſhould be without any army or viſible power to ſupport their rebellion, there ſhould a commiſſion iſſue out under the great ſeal of England, to ſuch perſons as ſhould be nominated by the parliament, who ſhould take the beſt way they could in their direction think fit to be informed whether the rebels were totally ſubdued, and ſo the rebellion at an end; and upon their declaration that the work was fully done, and the war finiſhed, other commiſſions ſhould likewiſe iſſue out in the ſame manner for the convicting and attainting all thoſe who were guilty of the treaſon and rebellion, by which their eſtates were become forfeited; and then other commiſſions for the diſtribution of the forfeited lands to the ſeveral adventurers according to the ſums of money advanced by them. The king was to be reſtrained from making any peace with the Iriſh rebels, or ceſſation, or from granting pardon to any of them, but ſuch peace, ceſſation or pardon ſhould be looked upon as void and null. This act the king had conſented to and confirmed in the year 1641, and in the agony of many troubles, which that rebellion had brought upon him, and thinking it the only means to put a ſpeedy end to that accurſed rebellion, the ſuppreſſion whereof would free him from many difficulties: and upon the ſecurity of this act, very many perſons of all qualities and affections ſubſcribed and brought in the firſt moiety of their money, and were very properly ſtiled adventurers.

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Great ſums of money were daily brought in, and preparations and proviſions and new levies of men were made for Ireland; but the rebellion in England being ſhortly after fomented by the parliament, they applied very much of that money brought in by the adventurers, and many of the troops which had been raiſed for that ſervice immediately againſt the king; which being notoriouſly known, and his Majeſty complaining of it, many honeſt gentlemen, who had ſubſcribed and paid in one moiety, refuſed to pay in the other moiety at the time, and ſo were liable to loſe the benefit of their adventure, which they preferred before ſuffering their money to be applied to the carrying on the rebellion againſt the king, which they abhorred; and by this means Ireland was unſupplied, and the rebellion ſpread and proſpered with little oppoſition for ſome time, and the parliament, tho' the time for ſubſcribing was expired, enlarged it by ordinances of their own to a longer day; and eaſily prevailed with many of their own party, principally officers and citizens to ſubſcribe and bring in their money, to which it was no ſmall encouragement that ſo many had loſt the benefit of their whole adventure by not paying in their ſecond payment, which would make the conditions of the new adventurers leſs hazardous. When the ſucceſs of the parliament had totally ſubdued the king's armies, and himſelf was ſo inhumanly murdered; neither the forces in Ireland under the king's authority, nor the Iriſh who had too late promiſed to ſubmit to it, could make any long reſiſtance, ſo that Cromwell quickly diſperſed them by his own expedition thither, and by licenſing as many as deſired it, to tranſport as many from thence for the ſervice of the two crowns of France and Spain as they would contract for, quickly made a diſappearance

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of any army in that kingdom to oppoſe his conqueſts; and after the defeat of the king at Worceſter, he ſeemed to all men to be in as quiet a poſſeſſion of Ireland as he was of England, and to be as much without enemies in the one as the other kingdom, as in a ſhort time he had reduced Scotland to the ſame exigence. Shortly after that time when Cromwell was inveſted with the office of Protector, all thoſe commiſſions were iſſued out; and all the formality was uſed that was preſcribed by that act for the adventurers; not only all the Iriſh nation (very few excepted) were found guilty of the rebellion; and ſo to have forfeited all their eſtates, but the marquis of Ormond, the lord Inchiquin, and all the Engliſh catholicks, and whoſoever had ſerved the king were declared to be under the ſame guilt, and their lands ſeized on for the benefit of the ſtate. There were very vaſt arrears of pay due to the army, a great part of which (now the war was ended) muſt be diſbanded, for the doing whereof no money was to be expected out of England; but they muſt be ſatisfied out of the forfeitures of the other kingdom; the whole kingdom was admeaſured, the accounts of the money paid by the adventurers within the time limited, and what was due to the army for their pay, were ſtated, and ſuch proportions of acres in the ſeveral provinces were aſſigned to the adventurers and officers and ſoldiers as were agreeable to the act of parliament by admeaſurement; where an officer of name had been likewiſe an adventurer, his adventure and his pay amounted to the more; and ſometimes the whole company and regiment contracted for money with their captains or colonels, and aſſigned their intereſt in land to them, and poſſeſſion was accordingly delivered without any reſpect to any tittle by law to former

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ſettlements, or deſcents of any perſons ſoever wives or children; except in ſome very few caſes, where the wives had been very great heirs and could not be charged with any crime, ſuch proportions were aſſigned as were rather agreable to their own conveniences, than to juſtice and the right of the claimers: and that every body might with the more ſecurity enjoy that which was aſſigned to him, they had found a way to have the conſent of many to their own undoing; they found the utter extirpation of the nation (which they had intended) to be in itſelf very difficult, and to carry in it ſomewhat of horrour; that made ſome impreſſion on the ſtone hardineſs of their own hearts, after ſo many millions deſtroyed by the plague which raged over the kingdom, by fire, ſword and famine; and after ſo many millions tranſported into foreign parts, there remained ſtill ſuch a numerous people that they knew not how to diſpoſe of, and tho' they were declared to be all forfeited, and ſo to have no title to any thing, yet they muſt remain ſomewhere. They therefore found this expedient which they called an act of grace. There was a large tract of land even to the half of the province of Connaught, that was ſeperated from the reſt by a long and a large river; and which by the plague and many maſſacres remained almoſt deſſolate; into this ſpace and circuit of land they required all the Iriſh to retire by ſuch a day under the penalty of death; and all who ſhould after that time be found in any other part of the kingdom man, woman or child ſhould be killed by any body who ſaw or met them: the land within this circuit the moſt barren in the kingdom was out of the grace and mercy of the conquerors, aſſigned to thoſe of the nation, who were incloſed, in ſuch proportions as might with great induſtry preſerve

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their lives, and to thoſe perſons, from whom they had taken a great quantity of land in other provinces, they aſſigned the greater proportions within this precinct; ſo that it fell to ſome mens lot, eſpecially when they were accommodated with horſes, to have a competent livelyhood, tho' never to the fifth part of what had been taken from them in a much better province. And that they might not be exalted with this merciful donative, it was a condition that accompanied this their accommodation, that they ſhould all give releaſes of their former rights and titles to the land that was taken from them, in conſideration of what was now aſſigned to them; and ſo they ſhould for ever bar themſelves and their heirs from ever laying claim to their own inheritance. What ſhould they do? they could not be permitted to go out of this precinct to ſhift for themſelves elſewhere; and without this aſſignation they muſt ſtarve here, as many did die every day of famine. In this deplorable condition, and under this conſternation they found themſelves obliged to accept or ſubmit to the hardeſt conditions of their conquerors; and ſo ſigned ſuch conveyances and releaſes as were prepared for them, that they might enjoy thoſe lands which belonged to other men: and by this means the plantation, as they called it, of Connaught was finiſhed; and all the Iriſh nation incloſed within that circuit. The reſt of Ireland being left to the Engliſh, ſome to the old lords and juſt proprietors, who being all Proteſtants (for no Roman Catholick was admitted) had either never offended them, or had ſerved them, or had made compoſition for their delinquencies by the benefit of ſome articles; ſome to the adventurers and ſoldiers; a good and great part, as I remember the whole province of Tipperary, Cromwell had reſerved to himſelf as a demeſne, as he

called it, for the ſtate, and in which no adventurer or ſoldier ſhould demand his lot to be aſſigned, and no doubt intended both the ſtate and it, for the making great his own family. It cannot be imagined in how eaſy a method and with what peaceable a formality this whole great kingdom was taken from the juſt lords and proprietors, and divided and given amongſt thoſe who had no other right to it, but that they had power to keep it, no men having ſo many ſhares, as they who had been inſtruments to murder the king, and were not like willingly to part with it to his ſucceſſor. Where any great ſums of money for arms, ammunition or any merchandize had been ſo long due, that they were looked upon deſperate, the creditors ſubſcribed all thoſe ſums as lent upon adventure, and had their ſatisfaction aſſigned to them as adventurers. Ireland was the great capital, out of which all debts were paid, all ſervices rewarded, and all acts of bounty performed; and which is more wonderfull, all this done and ſettled within little more than two years to that degree of perfection, that there were many buildings raiſed for beauty as well as uſe, orderly and regular plantations of trees, and raiſing fences and incloſures throughout the kingdom, purchaſes made by one from the other at very valuable rates, and jointures made upon marriages, and all other conveyances and ſettlements executed, as in a kingdom at peace within itſelf, and where no doubt could be made of the validity of titles; and yet in all this quiet, there were very few perſons pleaſed or contented; and thoſe deputies for the adventurers, and for thoſe who called themſelves adventurers, came not only to aſk the king's conſent and approbation of what had been done, which they thought in juſtice he could not deny, becauſe all had been done upon the warrant of a legal act

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of parliament; but to complain that juſtice had not been equally done in the diſtributions; that this man had received much leſs than was his due, and others as much more than was their due; that one had great quantities of bogs and waſtland aſſigned to him, as tenantable; and another as much allowed as bogs and waſt, which in truth were very tenantable lands; and upon the whole matter they all deſired a review that juſtice might be done to all, every man expecting an addition to what he had already, not ſuſpecting that any thing wonld be taken from him to be reſtored to the true owner. And this agitation raiſed another party of adventurers, who thought they had at leaſt as good right as any of the other; and that was, they or the heirs and executors of them, who upon the firſt making of the act of parliament, had ſubcribed ſeveral good ſums of money, and paid in their firſt moieties; but the rebellion coming on, and the money already paid in being notoriouſly and viſibly employed contrary to the act, and againſt the perſon of the king himſelf, they had out of conſcience forborn to make the ſecond moiety, leſt it might be alſo ſo employed; whereby according to the rigour of the law they loſt the benefit of the firſt payment, and they had hitherto ſuſtained that loſs with many other, without having ever applied themſelves for relief. But now when it had pleaſed God to reſtore the king, and ſo many who had not deſerved very well, deſired help from the king upon the equity of that act of parliament where the letter of the law would do them nothing; they preſumed to think that by the equity of the law they ought to be ſatisfied for the money they did really pay; and that they ſhould not undergo any damage for not paying the other moiety, which out of conſcience, and for his majeſty's

ſervice they had forborn to do: no man will doubt but that the king was well inclined to gratify this claſſis of adventurers, when he ſhould find it in his power; but it is time to return to the committee and deputies of the other parties in that diſtracted kingdom.

There was a committee ſent from the army, that was in preſent pay in Ireland, for the arrears due to them, which was for about a year's pay. Moſt of thoſe who had received ſatisfaction in land for what was then due to them, as well officers as ſoldiers being then diſbanded, that they might attend their plantations and huſbandry: but in truth becauſe they were for the moſt part of the Preſbyterian faction, and ſo ſuſpected by Cromwell not to be enough inclined to him. The army now on foot, and to whom ſo great arrears were due, conſiſted for the greateſt part of Independants, Anabaptiſts, and Levellers, who had correſponded with, and been directed by the general, when he marched from Scotland againſt Lambert; and therefore he had adviſed the king to declare that he would pay all arrears due to the army in Ireland, and ratify the ſatisfaction that had been given to adventurers, officers and ſoldiers there, which his majeſty had accordingly ſignified by his declaration from Breda. Whoever conſiders the temper and conſtitution of that army then on foot in that kingdom, and the body of Preſbyterians that had been diſbanded, and remained ſtill there in their habitations together with the body of adventurers all Preſbyterians or Anabaptiſts, and at the ſame time remembers the diſpoſition and general affection of the army in England, ſevered from their obedience to the general, and the good affection of ſome few ſuperior officers, will not wonder that the king endeavoured, if it had been poſſible, rather to pleaſe all, than by

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any unſeaſonable diſcovery of a reſolution, how juſt ſoever, to make any party deſperate, there being none ſo inconſiderable, as not to have been able to do much miſchief.

The ſatisfaction that the officers and ſoldiers had received in land, and the demand of the preſent army had cauſed another committee to be ſent and imployed by thoſe reformed officers who had ſerved the king under the command of the marquis of Ormonde from the beginning of the rebellion to the end thereof with courage and fidelity; and had ſince ſhifted beyond the ſeas, and ſome of them in his majeſty's ſervice, or ſuffered patiently in that kingdom under the inſolence of their oppreſſors; who becauſe they had always fought againſt the Iriſh, were by articles upon laying down their arms, when they could no longer hold them in their hands, permitted to remain in their own houſes, or ſuch as they could get within that kingdom. Thoſe gentlemen thought it a very incongruous thing, that they who had conſtantly fought againſt the king's father and himſelf, ſhould receive their pay and reward by his majeſty's care, bounty and aſſignation; and that they, who had as conſtantly fought for both, ſhould be left to undergo all want and miſery, now his majeſty was reſtored to his own: and they believed their ſuet to be the more reaſonable, at leaſt the eaſier to be granted by having brought an expedient with them to facilitate their ſatisfaction. There had been ſome old order or ordinance, that was look'd upon as a law, whereby it was provided that all houſes within cities or corporate towns, which were forfeited, ſhould be reſerved to be ſpecialy diſpoſed of by the ſtate, or in ſuch a manner as it ſhould direct; to the end that all care might be taken, what manner of men ſhould be the inhabitants of ſuch important places; and

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therefore ſuch houſes had not been, nor were to be promiſcuously aſſigned to adventurers, officers or ſoldiers and ſo remained hitherto undiſpoſed of; and thoſe reformed officers of the king made it their ſuit, that thoſe houſes might be aſſigned to them in proportions according to what might appear to be due to their ſeveral conditions and degrees in command; and to this petition, which might ſeem equitable in itſelf, the commiſſioners from the ſtate gave their full approbation and conſent; being ready to take all the opportunities to ingratiate themſelves towards thoſe whom they had oppreſſed as long as they were able, and to be reputed to love the king's party.

Laſtly there was a committee for or rather the whole body of the Iriſh catholicks, who with leſs modeſty than was ſuitable to their condition, demanded in juſtice to be reſtored to all the lands that had been taken from them; alledging, that they were all at leaſt as innocent as any of them were, to whom their lands had been aſſigned. They urged their early ſubmiſſion to the king, and the peace they had firſt made with the marquis of Ormonde, by which an act of indemnity had been granted for what offences ſoever had been committed, except ſuch, in which none of them were concerned. They urged the peace they had made with the marquis of Ormonde upon the king's firſt coming to the crown; wherein a grant of indemnity was again renewed to them: and confidently though very unſkillfully perſevered, that the benefit of all thoſe articles, which were contained in that peace, might ſtill be granted and obſerved to them, ſince they had done nothing to infringe or forfeit them; but had been oppreſſed and broken as all his majeſty's other forces had been. They urged the ſervice they had done to the king beyond the ſeas,

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having been always ready to obey his commands, and ſtayed or left France or Spain as his majeſty had commanded them, and were for the laſt two years received and liſted as his own troops and in his own actual ſervice under the duke of York. They preſſed the intolerable tyranny they had ſuffered under now almoſt twenty years, the maſſacres and ſervitude they had undergone, ſuch devaſtation and laying waſte their country, ſuch bloody cruelty and executions inflicted on them, as had never been known, nor could be parallelled amongſt chriſtians; that their nation was almoſt become deſolated, and their ſufferings of all kind to ſuch an extent that they hoped had ſatiated their moſt implacable enemies; and therefore they humbly beſought his majeſty that in this general joy for his majeſty's bleſſed reſtoration, and in which no body could rejoice more than they, when all his majeſty's ſubjects of his two other kingdoms (whereof many were not more innocent than themſelves) had their mouths filled with laughter, and had all their hearts could deſire, the poor Iriſh alone might not be condemned to perpetual weeping, and miſery, by his majeſty's own immediate act. Amongſt thoſe with the ſame confidence they, who had been tranſplanted into Connaught, appeared, related the circumſtances of the perſecution they had undergone, and how impoſſible it had been for them to refuſe their ſubmiſſion, ſo that they had no power to reſiſt, and therefore that it would be againſt all conſcience to alledge their own conſent, and their releaſes and other grants, which had they not conſented to in that point of time, they, their wives and children could not have lived four and twenty hours. All theſe particulars were great motives to compaſſion, and diſpoſed his majeſty's heart

heart to wiſh that any expedient might be found which might conſiſt with juſtice and neceſſary policy, that might make them though not very happy, yet might preſerve them from miſery, untill he ſhould hereafter find ſome opportunity to repair their condition and according to their ſeveral degrees and merit.

Thoſe ſeveral addreſſes being preſented to his majeſty together, before any thing was yet ſettled in England; and every party of them finding ſome friends, who filled the king's ears with ſpecious diſcourſes on their behalf for whom they ſpake, and with bitter invectives againſt all the reſt, that he was almoſt confounded how to begin, and in what method to put the examination of all their pretences, that he might be able to take ſuch a view of them, as to be able to apply ſome remedy, that might keep the diſeaſe from increaſing and growing worſe, untill he could find ſome cure. He had no mind the parliament ſhould interpoſe and meddle in it, which would have been grateful to no party, and by good fortune they were ſo full of buſineſs that they thought concerned them nearer, that they had no mind to examine or take cogniſance of this of Ireland; which they well knew properly depended upon the king's own royal pleaſure and commands. But thoſe addreſſes were all of ſo contradictory a nature, ſo inconſiſtent with each other, and ſo impoſſible to be reconciled, that if all Ireland could be ſold at its full value, that is, if kingdoms could be valued at a juſt rate, and find a fit chapman or purchaſer to diſburſe the ſum, it could not yield half enough to ſatisfy half their demands; and yet the king was not in a condition poſſitively to deny any one party that which they deſired. The commiſſioners of the ſtate in reſpect of their quality parts and intereſt and

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in regard of their miſſion and authority ſeemed the moſt proper perſons to be treated with and the moſt like to prevail upon, not to inſiſt upon any thing that was moſt profoundly unreaſonable; they had all their own juſt fears, if the king ſhould be ſevere, and there would have been a general concurrence in all the reſt that he ſhould have taken a full vengeance upon them; but then they, who had moſt cauſe to fear, thought they might raiſe their hopes higheſt from that power that had ſent them, and which had yet intereſt enough to do good and hurt, and they thought themſelves ſecure in the king's declaration from Breda and his offer of indemnity, which comprehended them; then they were all deſirous to merit from the king, and their not loving one another diſpoſed them the more to do any thing that might be grateful to his majeſty; but they were all united and agreed in one unhappy extreme, that made all their other devotion leſs applicable to the publick peace, that is their implacable malice to the Iriſh, inſomuch as they concurred in their deſire, that they might gain nothing by the king's return, but be kept with the ſame rigour and under the ſame incapacity, to do hurt, which they were till then; for which inſtance they were not totally without reaſon from their barbarous behaviour in the firſt beginning of the rebellion which could not be denied; and from their having been compelled to ſubmit to and undergo the moſt barbarous ſervitude that could not be forgotten: and tho' eradication was too foul a word to be uttered in the years of a chriſtian prince, yet it was little leſs or better that they propoſed in other words and hoped to obtain. Whereas the king thought that miſerable people to be as worthy of his favour as moſt of the other parties; and that his honour, juſtice and policy, as far as

they were unreſtrained by laws and contracts obliged him more to preſerve them at leaſt as much he could; and yet it can hardly be believed, how few men in all other points very reaſonable, and who were far from cruelty in their nature cheriſhed that inclination in the king, but thought it in him and more in his brother to proceed from other reaſons than they publiſhed. Whilſt others who pretended to be only moved by chriſtian charity and compaſſion, were more cruel towards them, and made them more miſerable by extorting great engagements from them for their protection and interceſſion, which being performed would leave them in as forlorn a condition, as they were found. In this intricacy and perplexity the king thought it neceſſary to begin with ſettling his own authority in one perſon over that kingdom, who ſhould make haſte thither, and eſtabliſh ſuch a council there and all courts of juſtice and other civil officers as might beſt contribute towards bringing the reſt in order, and to this purpoſe he made choice of ſeveral perſons of the robe, who had been known by or recommended by the marquis of Ormond; but of more by the advice and promotion of Daniel Oneal of his bedchamber, who preferred a friend of his and an Iriſhman to the office of attorney general; a place in that conjuncture of moſt importance to the ſettlement, and many other to be judges: and all this liſt was made and ſettled without the leaſt communication with the chancellor, who might have been preſumed to be eaſily informed of that rank of men, but to find a perſon fit to be ſent thither in the ſupreme authority was long deliberated by the king, and with difficulty to be reſolved. The general continued lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which he had no mind to quit, for he had a great eſtate there having for ſome time been general of that army,

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and received for the arrears of his pay and by Cromwell's bounty, and by ſome purchaſes made of the ſoldiers an eſtate of at leaſt 4000 £ per annum; which he thought he could beſt preſerve in the ſupreme government, tho' he was willing to have it believed in the city and the army, that he retained it only for the good of the adventurers, and that the ſoldiers might be juſtly dealt with for their arrears. Whatſoever his reaſon was, as profit was the higheſt reaſon always with him, whoever was to be deputy, muſt be ſubordinate to him, which no man of the greateſt quality would be, tho' he was to have his commiſſion from the king, and the ſame juriſdiction in the abſence of the Lieutenant. There were ſome few fit for the employment, who were not willing to undertake it, and many who were willing to undertake it, but were not fit. Upon the view of thoſe of all ſorts, the king moſt inclined to the lord Robarts, who was a man of more than ordinary parts, well verſed in the knowledge of the laws, and eſteemed of integrity not to be corrupted by money, but then he was a ſullen moroſe man, intolerably proud, and had ſome humours as inconvenient, as ſmall vices which made him hard to live with, and which were afterwards more diſcourſed, than at that time foreſeen. He had been in the beginning of the rebellion a leading man in their councils, and a great officer in their army, wherein he expreſſed no want of courage: but after the defeat of the Earl of Eſſex's army in Cornwall, which was imputed to his poſitiveneſs, and undertaking for his county, the friendſhip between him and that earl was broken; and from that time he did not only quit his command in the army, but declined their councils, and remained for the moſt part in the country, where he cenſured their proceedings, and had his converſa-

tion moſt with thoſe, who were known to wiſh well to the king; and who gave him a great teſtimony, as if he would be glad to ſerve his majeſty upon the firſt opportunity. The truth is the wickedneſs of the ſucceeding time was ſo much ſuperior, and overſhadowed all that had been done before, that they who had only been in rebellion with the earl of Eſſex, looked upon themſelves as innocent, and juſtified their own allegiance by loading the memory of Cromwell, with all the reproaches and maledictions imaginable. The greateſt exception the king had to the lord Robarts, who was already of the privy-council by the recommendation and inſtance of the general, was, that he was generally eſteemed a Preſbyterian, which would make him unfit for that truſt for many reaſons; beſides that he would not chearfully act the king's part in reſtoring and advancing the government of the church, which the king was reſolved to ſettle with all the advantages which he could contribute towards it: nor did the lord Robarts profeſs to be an enemy to epiſcopacy. Before the king would make any publick declaration of his purpoſe, he ſent the lord treaſurer and the chancellor, who were moſt acquainted with him, to confer freely with him, and to let him know the good eſteem his majeſty had of him and of his abilities to ſerve him; that the government of Ireland would require a very ſteady and a prudent man, that the general did not intend to go into that kingdom, and yet would remain Lieutenant thereof, from which office his majeſty knew not how nor thought it ſeaſonable to remove him, and therefore that the place muſt be ſupplied by a deputy, for which office the king thought him the moſt fit, if it were not for one objection, which he had given them leave to inform him of particularly, there being but one perſon more privy to his

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majeſty's purpoſe, who was the marquis of Ormonde; and that he might conclude that the king was deſirous to receive ſatisfaction to his objection, by the way he took to communicate it to him: and then they told him, that he had the reputation of being a Preſbyterian, and that his majeſty ſhould take his own word, whether he was, or was not one. He anſwered without any kind of ceremony, to which he was not devoted, or ſo much as acknowledging the king's favour in his enquiry, that no Preſbyterian thought him to be a Preſbyterian, or that he loved their party; he knew them too well, that there could be no reaſon to ſuſpect him to be ſuch, but that which might rather induce men to believe him to be a good Proteſtant, that he went conſtantly to the church as well in the afternoons as the forenoons on ſundays, and on thoſe days forbore to uſe thoſe exerciſes and recreations, which he uſed to do all the week beſide. He deſired them to aſſure the king, that he was ſo far from a preſbyterian, that he believed epiſcopacy to be the beſt government, the church could be ſubject to. They aſked him whether he would be willing to receive that government of deputy of Ireland, if the king were willing to confer it upon him; thence he let himſelf to fall to an acknowledgment of the king's goodneſs, that he thought him worthy of ſo great an honour, but he could not conceal the diſdain he had of the general's perſon; nor how unwilling he was to receive orders from him, or to be an officer under his command. They told him that there would be a neceſſity of a good correſpondence between them both, whilſt they ſtaid together in England, and when he ſhould be in Ireland; but beyond that there would be no obligation upon him, for that he was to receive his commiſſion immediately from the king,

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containing as ample powers, as were in the lord lieutenants own commiſſion; that he was not the lieutenant's deputy but the king's, only that his commiſſion ceaſed, when the lieutenant ſhould be upon the place, which he was never like to be. Upon the whole matter though it appeared that the ſuperiority was a great mortification to him, he ſaid that he referred himſelf wholly to the king to be diſpoſed of, as he thought beſt for his ſervice; and that he would behave himſelf with all poſſible fidelity to him. Upon this report made to the king, ſhortly after his majeſty in council declared that he had made the lord Robarts deputy of Ireland, and then charged him that he would prepare as ſoon as was poſſible for his journey thither, when thoſe officers, who were deſigned by him for the civil juſtice of the kingdom, ſhould be ready to attend upon him; and in the mean time that he would ſend the commiſſioners and all others who ſolicited any thing that had reference to Ireland, to wait upon him; to the end, that he being well informed of the nature and conſiſtency of the ſeveral pretences, and of the general ſtate of the kingdom, might be the better able to adviſe his majeſty upon the whole matter; and to preſcribe, for the entring upon it by parts, ſuch a method, that his majeſty may with leſs perplexity give his own determination in thoſe particulars, which muſt chiefly depend upon himſelf, and his direction. Thus the king gave himſelf a little eaſe by referring the groſs to the lord deputy, in whoſe hands we ſhall for the preſent leave it, that we may take a view of the other particulars that more immediately related to England, though we ſhall ſhortly called back again to Ireland, which enjoyed little repoſe in the hands, which it was put.

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The parliament ſpent moſt of the time upon the act of indemnity, in which private paſſions and animoſities prevailed very far. One man contending to preſerve this man, who though amongſt the fouleſt offenders, had done him ſome courteſy in the time of his power; and another with as much paſſion, and bitterneſs endeavouring to have another condemned, who could not be diſtinguiſhed from the whole herd by any infamous guilt; and who had diſobliged him, or refuſed to oblige him, when it was in his power to have done it. The king had poſſitively excepted none from pardon, becauſe he was to refer the whole to them; but had clearly enough expreſſed, that he preſumed that they would not ſuffer any of thoſe, who had ſat as judges upon his father, and condemned him to be murdered, to remain alive; and the guilty perſons themſelves made ſo little doubt of it, that they made what ſhift they could to make their eſcape into the parts beyond the ſeas; and many of them had tranſported themſelves, whilſt others lay concealed for other opportunities, and ſome were apprehended when they endeavoured to fly, and ſo were impriſoned. The parliament publiſhed a proclamation that all who did not render themſelves by a day named, ſhould be judged as guilty, and attainted of treaſon, which many conſented to, conceiving it to amount to no more than a common proceſs at law to bring men to juſtice: but it was no ſooner out, than all they, who had concealed themſelves in order to be tranſported, rendered themſelves to the ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons, and were by him committed to the Tower; and the houſe conceived itſelf ingaged to ſave thoſe mens lives, who had put themſelves in their power upon that preſumption. The Houſe of Peers inſiſted upon it in many conferences, that the proclamation

tion could bear no ſuch interpretation; but as it condemned all (who by flying) declined the juſtice of the kingdom, ſo it admitted as many as would appear, to plead their own innocence, which if they could prove they would be ſafe: but the guilty.--And with them the Houſe of Commons declared that they could not but underſtand, that they who rendered themſelves ſhould be in a better condition than they who fled beyond the Seas; which they were not in any degree if they were put upon their trial; for to be tried and to be condemned was the ſame thing, ſince the guilt of all was equally notorious and manifeſt, and this kind of reaſoning prevailed upon the judgements and underſtandings of many, who had all manner of deteſtation for the perſons of the men. In the end the Houſe of Peers after long conteſts was obliged to conſent that all the perſons who were fled, and thoſe who had ſurrendered themſelves, ſhould be brought to a trial and attainted according to law, together with thoſe who were or ſhould be taken; whereby they would forfeit all their eſtates to the king: but for thoſe who had rendered themſelves upon the faith of the parliament as they called it, they ſhould remain in ſuch priſons as his majeſty thought fit during their lives, and neither of them to be put to death without conſent of Parliament. But then as by this means too many of thoſe impious perſons remained alive; and ſome others, who were as bad as any, were upon ſome teſtimony of the general and by other interpoſitions of friends upon the alegation of merit and ſervices preſerved with the king's conſent, too eaſily obtained, ſo much as from attainder ſo to make ſome kind of amends for this unhappy lenity, they reſolved to except a multitude of thoſe, they were moſt angry with from pardon as to their

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eſtates, and to fine others in great ſums of money, when worſe men, at leaſt as bad, of other claſſes were exempted, as included, by the power of their friends, who were preſent in the debate; and this contradiction and faction brought ſuch a ſpirit into the houſe, as diſturbed all other councils; whilſt men, who wiſhed well enough to the matter propoſed, oppoſed the paſſing it, to croſs other men, who had refuſed to agree with them in the pardoning or not pardoning of perſons; which diſſenſion divided the Houſe into great animoſities: and without doubt the king's credit and authority was at that time ſo great in the Houſe of Commons, that he could have taken full vengeance upon thoſe with whom he had reaſon to be offended, by cauſing them to be exempted from pardon, or expoſed to ſome damage in eſtate; and and there wanted not many, who uſed all the credit they had to inflame the king to that retaliation and revenge; and it was then, and more afterwards imputed to the chancellor, that there were no more exceptions in the act of Indemnity, and that he laboured more for expedition of paſſing it, and for excluding any extraordinary exceptions which reproach he neither then or afterwards was ſolicitous to throw off. But his authority and credit (tho' he at that time was generally eſteemed) could not have prevailed in that particular, wherein there were few men without ſome temptation to anger and indignation; and none more than he, who had undergone injuries and indignities from many men then alive: but that it was very evident to the king himſelf, and to all diſpaſſioned men, that no perſon was ſo much concerned, (tho' all were enough) that there ſhould be no longer delay in paſſing the act of imdemnity, as the king himſelf was, there being no progreſs made in any other buſineſs by the diſorder and ill humour, that grew out of that. There

was no attempt to be made towards disbanding the army, untill the act of indemnity should be first passed: nor could they begin to pay off the navy, till they were ready to pay off the arrears of the army. This was the remora in all the councils. Whilst there wanted not those, who infused into the minds of the soldiers, and into the jealousy of the cities, that the king had no purpose ever to consent to the act of indemnity, which was looked upon as the only universal security for the peace of the nation; and till that was done, no man could say that he dwelled at home, nor the king think himself in any good posture of security; and therefore no man was more impatient, and more instant in council and parliament to remove all causes which obstructed that work, and put the king in mind, how much he had opposed some clauses and expressions, which were in the declaration and letters from Breda; which notwithstanding were inserted, as most agreeable to the general's advice, and that he then said to his majesty in the presence of those who were consulted with, that it would come to his turn to insist upon the performance of those concessions, which he was against the making of, when many others would oppose them, who it may be at that present would advise much larger, which his majesty acknowledged to be true, and confessed upon many occasions; and the chancellor did in truth conceive that the king's taking advantage of the good inclinations of the house to him, and to dispose them to fall upon many persons who were of another classis of men to those he desired might be excepted, and of which prospect there could be no end, every man having cause to fear his own security, by what he saw his neighbour suffer, who was as innocent, was directly contrary to the sense and integrity of his declarations, and therefore to

be avoided; and all things to be done by him that might facilitate and advance the diſbanding, that ſo the peace of the kingdom might again depend upon the civil juſtice and magiſtrates thereof. And all men, who underſtood in how tickliſh a condition it then ſtood, concurred in that advice, and this was the reaſon, that the king uſed his authority, and they, who were truſted by him, their credit and intereſt, for the ſuppreſſing thoſe animoſities, which had irreconciled many perſons between themſelves who were of publick affections, by the nomination of particular perſons, whoſe eſtates ſhould be made liable to penalties, the impoſing of which muſt again depend upon the parliament; which beſides the conſumption of time, which was very precious, would renew and continue the ſame ſpirit of diviſion, which already had done too much miſchief; and would inevitably have done much more: but by this temper and compoſition the act of indemnity was finiſhed, paſſed the Houſe of Peers, and received the royal aſſent to the wonderfull joy of the people; and preſent orders were given for the diſbanding the army, and payment of the navy, as faſt as money came in, for which ſeveral acts of parliament were formerly paſt. And by the former delays, the intolerable burthen both of the army and navy lay upon the kingdom near ſix months, after the king's return, and amounted not to ſo little, as one hundred thouſand pounds by the month, which raiſed a vaſt debt, that was called the king's, who had inceſſantly deſired to have it prevented from the firſt hour of his arrival.

After the bill of indemnity was paſſed with ſome other as important acts for the publick peace, as the preſerving thoſe proceedings, which had been in courts of juſtice for near twenty

years, from being ravelled into again as void, or invalid, becauſe they had been before judges not legally qualified; which would have brought an intolerable burthen upon the ſubject: and ſome other acts, the parliament was willing to adjourn for ſome time, that their members, who were appointed to attend the diſbanding the army in ſeveral places, and the payment of the navy, might be abſent with leſs inconvenience. And the king was as willing to have ſome eaſe, and ſo it was adjourned for a month or ſix weeks, in which time and even in the middle of the disbanding there happened a very ſtrange accident, that was evidence enough of the temper or diſtemper of the time. The trial of thoſe infamous perſons, who were in priſon for the murther of the king was no ſooner over, and the perſons executed, with ſome of the ſame crew, who being in Holland and Flanders were by the permiſſion and connivance of thoſe magiſtrates taken by the king's miniſters there, and brought into England, and put to death with their companions, but the people of that claſſis, who were called fanaticks, diſcovered a wonderfull malignity in their diſcourſes, and vows of revenge for their innocent friends: they cauſed the ſpeeches, they had made at their deaths to be printed, in which there was nothing of repentance or ſorrow for their wickedneſs, but a juſtification of what they had done for the cauſe of God; and had ſeveral meetings to conſult of the beſt way to attempt their revenge, and of bringing themſelves into the ſame poſture of authority and power which they formerly had. The diſbanding the army ſeemed a good expedient to contribute to their ends, and they doubted not, but as faſt as they diſbanded, they would repair to them, which they could not ſo well do till then, becauſe of the many new officers, who had been lately put

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over them. And to that purpoſe they had their agents in ſeveral regiments to appoint rendezvous; they had conference of aſſaſſinating the general; who they ſaid, had betrayed them, and was the only perſon who kept the army together. Matters being in this ſtate, and ſome of their companions every day taken and impriſoned upon diſcovery of their purpoſes, the king being gone to Portſmouth, and the parliament adjourned, they appointed a rendezvous in ſeveral places of London at twelve of the clock in the night, the ſame being aſſigned to their friends in the country. They had not patience to make uſe of the ſilence of the night, till they could draw the ſeveral bodies together, but their ſeveral rendezvous no ſooner met, than they fell into noiſe and exclamation, that all men ſhould take arms to aſſiſt the lord Jeſus Chriſt; and when the watch came towards them, they reſolutely defended themſelves, and killed many of thoſe who came to aſſault them, ſo that the alarum was in a ſhort time ſpread over the city, and from thence was carried to Whitehall, where the duke of York was and the general, with a regiment of guards and ſome horſe, which were quickly drawn together. Sir Richard Browne was then lord mayor of London a very ſtout and vigilant magiſtrate, who was equally feared and hated by all the ſeditious party, for his extraordinary zeal and reſolution in the king's ſervice: nor was there any man in England, who did raze out the memory of what he had formerly done amiſs, with more ſignal courage, acknowledgement, or a more frank and generous ingagement againſt all manner of factions which oppoſed or obſtructed his majeſty's ſervice; which made him terrible and odious, to all, and to none more, than to the preſbyterians who had formerly ſeduced him. Upon the alarum, which of itſelf had ſcattered many of the conſ-

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pirators as they were going to or were upon the places to which they were aſſigned, he was quickly upon his horſe, accompanied with as many ſoldiers, officers and friends, as he could ſpeedily draw together; and with theſe marches towards that place, where the moſt noiſe was made, and in his way met many who run from the fury of thoſe, who, they ſaid were in arms, and reported their number to be very great, and that they killed all who oppoſed them; and true it was they had killed ſome, and charged a body of the train-bands with ſo much courage, that it retired with diſorder. Yet when the mayor came, he found the number ſo ſmall, not above thirty men, that he commanded them to lay down their arms, which when they refuſed to do, he charged them briſkly, and they defended themſelves with that courage and deſpair, that they killed and wounded many of his men, and very few of them yielded or would receive quarter, till they were overpowred with numbers, or fainted with wounds, and ſo were taken and laid hands on. The captain who was to command the whole party in London, and had for his device in his enſign theſe words, the Lord God and Gideon, was a wine-cooper of a competant eſtate, a very ſtrong man, who defended himſelf with his ſword, and killed ſome of thoſe who aſſaulted him, till he fell with his wounds, as ſome others about him did, all whom he had perſuaded that they ſhould be able to do as much upon their enemies, as Jonathan and his armour bearer did upon the Philiſtines, or any others in the old teſtament had upon thoſe, whom the Lord delivered into their hands. Nor could they find upon all his examinations, that there was any other formed deſign, than what muſt probably attend the declaration of the army, of which he was aſſured. He and the

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hurt men were committed to goale, and to the ſpecial charge of the ſurgeons, that they might be preſerved for a trial. The next morning the council met early, and having received an account of all that had paſſed, they could not but conclude, that this ſo extravagant an attempt could not be founded upon the raſhneſs of one man, who had been always looked upon as a man of ſenſe and reaſon; and thereupon thought it neceſſary to ſuſpend the diſbanding the generals regiment of foot, which had the guard of White-Hall, and was by the order of parliament to have been diſbanded the next day; and wrote to the king to approve of what they had done, and to appoint it to be continued till further order, which his majeſty conſented to; and this was the true ground and occaſion of the continuing and increaſing the guard for his majeſty's perſon, which no man at that time thought to be more than was neceſſary. Order was given for the ſpeedy trial of Venner and his accomplices, many whereof with himſelf, would have died of their wounds, if their trial had been deferred for many days, but the ſurgeons ſkill preſerved till then, where they made no other defence for themſelves, than what is before mentioned, nor did then, or at their deaths (there being ten or a dozen executed) make the leaſt ſhew of ſorrow for what they had attempted.

There is no occaſion of mentioning more of the particular proceedings of this parliament which tho' it met afterwards at the time appointed, and proceeded with all duty to the king, in raiſing great ſums of money for the army and the navy, and for the payment of other great debts, which they thought themſelves concerned to diſcharge, and which had never been incurred by the king; and likewiſe paſſed many good acts for the ſettling a future revenue for the crown, and

a vote that they would raiſe that revenue to twelve hundred thouſand pounds yearly; yet they gave not any thing to the king himſelf, (all the reſt was received and paid by thoſe who were deputed by them to that purpoſe,) but ſeventy thouſand pounds towards the diſcharge of his coronation, which he had appointed to be in the beginning of may following; and this ſeventy thouſand pounds was all the money the king received or could diſpoſe of, in a full year after his coming to London; ſo that there could not but be a very great debt contracted in that time, for the payment whereof he muſt afterwards provide as well as he could. I ſay I ſhall not mention more of the particulars of that parliament, becauſe it was foreſeen by all, that tho' their meeting had produced all thoſe good effects in the reſtoring the king, diſbanding the army, and many other things, which could be wiſhed, yet that the laſting validity of all, they had done, would depend upon another parliament to be legally ſummoned by the king, with all thoſe formalities which this wanted; and the confirmation of that parliament would be neceſſary for the people's ſecurity, that they ſhould enjoy all that this had granted; ſo that when I ſhall ſpeak again of the proceedings of parliament it will be of that parliament which will be called by his majeſty's writ; only before we diſſolve this, and becauſe their hath been ſo little ſaid of the licence and diſtemper in religion, which his majeſty exceedingly apprehended would have received ſome countenance from the parliament, we ſhall remember that the king having by his declaration from Breda referred the compoſing and ſettling all that related to the government of the church to the parliament, ſo that he could do nothing towards it himſelf, but by his gracious reception of the old biſhops, who

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were ſtill alive, and his own practice in his devotions, and the government of his royal chappel declared ſufficiently what ſhould be done in other places. The party of the Preſbyterians was very numerous in the Houſe of Commons, and had before the king's return made a committee to deviſe ſuch a government for the church, as might either totally exclude biſhops, or make them little ſuperior to the reſt of the clergy; but the ſpirit of the time had of itſelf elected many members, notwithſtanding the injunctions ſent out with the writs, and expreſsly contrary to ſuch elections, of a very different allay, who together with ſuch as were choſen after his majeſty's return, were numerous enough to obſtruct and checque any prevalence of that party, tho' not of power enough to compel them to conſent to ſober councils; and ſo the buſineſs was kept ſtill at the committee, now and then getting ground, and then caſt back again, as the ſober members attended; ſo that no report was brought to the houſe from thence, which might have given the king ſome trouble; and by degrees the heads of that party grew weary of the warmth of their proſecution, which they ſaw not like to produce any notable fruit, that they cared for. The king deſired no more than that they ſhould do no thing, being ſure that in a little time he ſhould himſelf do the work beſt; and ſo in September, when he adjourned them, he took notice that they had offered him no advice towards the compoſing the diſſenſions in religion, and therefore he would try in that ſhort adjournment of parliament what he could do towards it himſelf; and thereupon he was himſelf preſent many days and for many hours each day at a conference between many of the London miniſters, who were the head of the Preſbyterian party, with an equal number of the orthodox clergy, who had been for ſo many

years deprived of all that they had; which conference was held at Worceſter-houſe in the chancellor's lodgings, to conſider, what ceremonies ſhould be retained in the church, and what alterations ſhould be made in the liturgy that had been formerly uſed; and the ſubſtance of this conference was afterwards publiſhed in print. The king upon this publiſhed a declaration concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs, where in he took notice of the conference that had been in his own preſence, and that he had commanded the clergy of both ſides to meet together at the Savoy in the maſter's lodgings, and if it were poſſible, to agree upon ſuch an act of uniformity, that might be confirmed in parliament; and in the mean time he ſignified his pleaſure, that no body ſhould be puniſhed for not uſing the book of common-prayer, which had been formerly eſtabliſhed; or for diſcontinuing the ſurplice and the ſign of the croſs; and that all who deſired to conform to the old practice in the uſing them all ſhould be at the ſame liberty. Which declaration was read to, and put into the hands of the divines of both ſides for ſome days, and then they were again heard before his majeſty at Worceſter-houſe, and tho' it cannot be denied, that either party did deſire, that ſomewhat might be put in, and ſomewhat left out, in neither of which they were gratified; yet it is moſt true, they were both well contented with it, or ſeemed ſo, and the declaration was publiſhed in his majeſty's name before the return of the parliament.

Here I cannot but inſtance two acts of the Preſbyterians, by which if their humour and ſpirit were not enough diſcovered and known, their want of ingenuity and integrity would be manifeſt; and how impoſſible it is for men, who would not be deceived, to depend on either. When the declaration had been delivered to the miniſters, there was a

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clauſe in it, in which the king declared his own conſtant practice of the common prayer, and that he would take it well from thoſe who uſed it in their churches, that the common people might be acquainted with the piety, gravity and devotion of it; and which he thought would facilitate their living in a good neighbourhood together, or words to that effect. When they had conſidered the whole ſome days, Mr. Calamy and ſome other miniſters deputed by the reſt, came to the chancellor to redeliver it to his hands; they acknowledged the king had been very gracious to them, in his conceſſions, tho' he had not granted all that ſome of their brethren wiſhed, yet they were contented, only deſired him that he would prevail with the king that the clauſe mentioned before might be left out, which they proteſted was moved by them for the king's own end, and that they might ſhew their obedience to him, and reſolution to do him ſervice, for they were reſolved themſelves to do what the king wiſhed; and firſt to reconcile the people, who for near twenty years had not been acquainted with that form, by informing them that it contained much piety and devotion, and might be lawfully uſed; and that then they would begin to uſe it themſelves, and by degrees accuſtome the people to it; which they ſaid would have a better effect, than if the clauſe were in the declaration; for they ſhould be thought in their Perſuaſions to comply only with the king's recommendation, and to merit from his majeſty and not to be moved from the conſcience of their duty, and ſo they ſhould loſe that occaſion to manifeſt their zeal to pleaſe the king; and they fear'd there would be other ill conſequences from it by the waywardneſs of the common people, who were to be treated with ſkill, and would not be prevailed

upon at once. The king was to be preſent the next morning to hear the declaration read the laſt time before both parties, and then the chancellor told him in the preſence of all the reſt, what the miniſters had deſired; which they again enlarged upon with the ſame proteſtations of their reſolutions; in ſuch a manner, that his majeſty believed they meant honeſtly, and the clauſe was left out. But the declaration was no ſooner publiſhed than obſerving that the people were generally ſatisfied with it, but they ſent their emiſſaires abroad, and many of their letters were intercepted, and particularly a letter from Mr. Calamy to a leading miniſter in Somerſetſhire, whereby he adviſed and intreated him, that he and his friends would continue and perſiſt in the uſe of the directory, and by no means admit the common prayer in their churches; for that he made no queſtion but that they ſhould prevail further with the king, than he had yet conſented to in his declaration. The other inſtance was, that as ſoon as the declaration was printed, the king received a petition in the name of the miniſters of London and many others of the ſame opinion with them who had ſubſcribed that petition, amongſt whom none of thoſe, who had attended the king in thoſe conferences, had their names. They gave his majeſty humble thanks for the grace he had vouchſafed to ſhew in his declaration, which they received as an earneſt of his future goodneſs and condeſcenſion in granting all thoſe other conceſſions which were abſolutely neceſſary for the liberty of their conſcience; and deſired with much importunity and ill manners, that the wearing the ſurplice, and the uſing the croſs in baptiſm might be abſolutely aboliſhed out of the church, as being ſcandalous to all men of tender conſciences. From theſe two inſtances all

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men may conclude that nothing but a ſevere execution of the law can ever prevail upon that claſſis of men to conform to government. When the parliament came together again after their adjournment they gave the king publick thanks for his declaration, and never proceeded farther in the matter of religion, of which the king was very glad. Only ſome of the leaders brought a bill into the houſe for the making that declaration a law; which was ſuitable to their other acts of ingenuity, to keep the church for ever under the ſame indulgence, and without any ſettlement, which being quickly perceived, there was no further progreſs in it. And the king upon the nine and twentieth of December, after having given them as ample a teſtimony of their kindneſs towards him, which he magnified with many gracious expreſſions, and his royal thanks for the ſettling his revenue, and payment of the publick debts promiſed to ſend out writs for the calling another parliament, which he doubted not would confirm all that they had done, and in which he hoped many of them would be elected again to ſerve; and ſo diſſolved the preſent parliament, with as general an applauſe as hath been known, though it was quickly known that the revenue, they had ſettled, was not in value equal to what they had computed: nor did the monies they granted in any degree ariſe to enough to pay either the arrears to the army, or the debts to the navy, both which muſt be the work of the enſuing parliament, which was directed to meet upon the eigth of May following: before which time the king made choice of worthy and learned men to ſupply the vacant ſees of biſhops, which had been void ſo many years; and who were conſecrated accordingly before the parliament

liament met, and before we come to that time, ſome particular occurrences of moment muſt be firſt inſerted.

When the king arrived in England, Moſieur Burdoe was the embaſſador from the king of France, and had reſided embaſſador there above three years in Cromwels time, and lived in marvaillous luſtre, very acceptable and dear to Cromwel, having treated all the ſecret alliance between the cardinal and him, and was even truſted by the protector in many of his councils, eſpecially to diſcover any conſpiracy againſt him; for he lived jovially, made great entertainments to lords and ladies without diſtinction, and amongſt them, would frequently let ſome expreſſions of compaſſion and reſpect towards the king. After Cromwell's death his credentials were quickly renewed to Richard his ſucceſſor, with whom all the former treaties were again eſtabliſhed; and when he was put down, he was not long without freſh credit to the common wealth that ſucceeded; and ſo upon all viciſſitudes was ſupply'd with authority to endear his maſter's affection to the preſent power, and to let them know how well the cardinal was diſpoſed to join the power of France to their intereſt; and his dexterity had been ſuch towards all, that the cardinal thought fit to ſend him new credentials againſt the time of the king's coming to London; and within few days after, when he had provided a new equipage to appear in more glory than he had ever yet done, he ſent to deſire an audience from the king. The earl of St. Albans was newly come from France, and to him Burdoe had applied himſelf, who was always very ready to promote any thing that might be gratefull to that crown; but the king would not reſolve any thing in that point till he had conferred upon it with

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the council; where it being debated, there was a unanimous conſent (the earl of St. Alban's only excepted, who exceedingly laboured the contrary) that it could not ſtand with his majeſty's honour to receive him as ambaſſador, who had tranſacted ſo many things to his diſadvange, and ſhifted his face ſo often; always in conjunction with his greateſt enemies; and that it was a great diſreſpect in the crown of France towards his majeſty in ſending ſuch a perſon, whom they could not believe (without great undervaluing the king) could be acceptable to him. The king himſelf was of that opinion, and inſtead of aſſigning him a day for his audience, as was deſired, he ſent him an expreſs command to departthe kingdom; and when he afterwards with much importunity deſired only to be admitted as a ſtranger to ſee his majeſty and to ſpeak to him, his majeſty as poſitively refuſed to admit him to his preſence; all which was imputed principally to the chancellor, who had with ſome warmth oppoſed his being received as embaſſador; and when he ſent by a perſon well enough eſteemed by the chancellor, that he would receive a viſit from him, he expreſsly refuſed to ſee him. Whoever gave the advice, the king had great honour by it in France itſelf, which declared no kind of reſentment of it, and gave poor Burdoe ſuch a reception, after having ſerved them five years with notable ſucceſs, and ſpent his whole eſtate in their ſervice, that in a ſhort time he died heart broken, in miſery and unenquired after; and forthwith that king ſent the count of Soiſſons the moſt illuſtrious perſon in France, very nobly accompanied and bravely attended, as his embaſſador to congratulate his majeſty's happy reſtoration, with all the compliments of friendſhip and eſteem that can be imagined. There was another embaſſador at the

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ſame time in London who might be thought to ſtand in the ſame predicament with Burdoe, tho' in truth their caſes were very different; and who received a very different treatment; that was the embaſſador of Portugal, who had been ſent by that crown to finiſh a treaty, that had been begun by another embaſſador with Cromwell, who had been ſo ill uſed that they had put his brother publickly to death for a raſh action, in which a gentleman had been killed, upon which he had got leave of his maſter to quit the kingdom; and this other embaſſador had been ſent in his place, and was forced to conſent and ſubmit to very hard conditions, as a ranſome for that king's generoſity in aſſiſting the king in his loweſt condition by receiving prince Rupert with his majeſty's fleet in Liſbon; and ſo preſerving them from a fleet much ſuperior in number and goodneſs of the ſhips, that purſued him, by commiſſion from Cromwell; who took that action ſo to heart, that he made war upon that kingdom, took their ſhips, obſtructed their trade, and blocked up all their ports, whilſt the Spaniſh army invaded them at land, and took their towns in the very heart of the kingdom; and to redeem that poor king from that terrible perſecution that treaty had been ſubmitted to, in which beſides the early payment of a great ſum of money from Portugal, which was to continue for many years, other great advantages in trade had been granted to England. The king made no ſcruple of receiving this embaſſador with a very good countenance, and as ſoon as he got his credentials, gave him a publick audience with all the formality, and ceremony, that in thoſe caſes are uſual and neceſſary; and becauſe in ſome time after a negociation was ſet on foot of the higheſt importance and its effect in the king's marriage with the queen, and becauſe (how acceptable ſoever both

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that treaty and concluſion as it was then to the whole kingdom) that affair was afterwards imputed to the chancellor, and (in the opinion of many) proved to be the cauſe and ground of all his misfortunes, I ſhall here ſet down all the particulars that introduced and attended that negociation and treaty with all the circumſtances; ſome whereof may appear too light, and yet are not without weight, to make it appear to all the world, how far the chancellor was from being the author of that council (and if he had been, there was no reaſon to be aſhamed of it) and that he did nothing before, in, or after that treaty, but what was neceſſary for a man in his condition; and what very well became a perſon of that truſt and confidence he was in with his maſter.

It hath been remembered before that upon the publication of the duke's marriage, and the reconciliation upon that affair, that the chancellor was very ſolicitous that the king himſelf would marry; that he deſired the marquis of Ormonde very earneſtly to adviſe him to it; and himſelf often put his majeſty in mind of what he had ſaid to him in France, when the duke was perſuaded to treat about a marriage with mademoiſelle de Longueville; that his majeſty was by no means to conſent that his heir apparent ſhould marry before himſelf were married; for which he had given ſome reaſons, for which at that time he underwent great diſpleaſures: and this diſcourſe he had held often with the king, and ſure no man in England more impatiently deſired to ſee him married than he did. Indeed it was no eaſie matter to find a perſon in all reſpects ſo fit, that a man would take upon him to propoſe in particular; nor did he think himſelf in many reſpects, and with reference to the accidents, which might probably or poſſibly fall out, fit,

if he could have thought of one, to be the author of the propoſition. One day the king came to the chancellor's houſe in the afternoon, and being alone with him, his majeſty told him that he was come to confer with him upon an argument that he would well like, which was about his own marriage; he ſaid, that the lord chamberlain (who was then earl of Mancheſter) had held a diſcourſe with him ſome days paſt, that ſeemed to have ſomewhat in it, that was worth the thinking of; that he had told him, the Portugal embaſſador had made him a viſit, and having ſome conference with him concerning the king, towards whoſe perſon he profeſſed a profound reſpect, he ſaid it was time for his majeſty to think of marriage, which nothing could keep him from, but the difficulty of finding a fit conſort for him; that there was in Portugal a princeſs in her beauty, perſon and age very fit for him, and who would have a portion ſuitable to her birth and quality; that it is true that ſhe was a Catholick, and would never depart from her religion, but was totally without that meddling and activity in her nature, which many times made thoſe of that religion troubleſome and reſtleſs, when they came into a country, were another religion was practiſed; that ſhe had been bred under a wiſe mother, who was ſtill regent in that kingdom, who had carefully infuſed another ſpirit into her, and kept her from affecting to have any hand in buſineſs, which ſhe had never been acquainted with; ſo that ſhe would look only to enjoy her own religion, and not at all concern herſelf in what others profeſſed; that he had authority to make the propoſition to the king, with ſuch particularities as included many advantages above any, which he thought could accompany any overture of that kind from another prince; to which the chamberlain added,

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there could be no queſtion, but that a proteſtant queen would in all reſpects be looked upon as the greateſt bleſſing to the kingdom, but if ſuch a one could not be found, he did really believe that a princeſs of this temper and ſpirit would be the beſt of all Catholicks; that the trade of Portugal was great here, and that England had a more beneficial commerce with that crown than with any other, which had induced Cromwell to make that peace, when he had upon the matter forſworn it, and the making it had been the moſt popular action, he had ever performed. His majeſty ſaid, that he had only anſwered the chamberlain, that he would think of it, but that the very morning of this day, the embaſſador of Portugal had been with him, and without any formality had entered into the ſame diſcourſe, and ſaid all that the lord chamberlain had mentioned; to which he added that he had authority to offer to his majeſty five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling in ready money as a portion with the Infanta, and likewiſe to aſſign over and for ever to annex to the crown of England the poſſeſſion of Tangier upon the African ſhore in the Mediterranean ſea, a place of that ſtrength and importance, as would be of infinite benefit and ſecurity to the trade of England; and likewiſe to grant to the Engliſh nation a free trade in Brazil, in the Eaſt-Indies, which they had hitherto denied to all nations but themſelves; and for their ſecurity to enjoy that privilege, they would put into his majeſty's hands and poſſeſſion and for ever annex to the crown of England the Iſland of Bombay with the towns and caſtles therein, which are within a very little diſtance from Brazil, and hath within itſelf a very good and ſpacious harbour, and would be a vaſt improvement to the Eaſt-India trade; and thoſe two places he ſaid of Tangier

and Bombay might reaſonably be valued above the portion in money. The king mentioned all the diſcourſe as a matter that pleaſed him, and might prove of notable advantage to the kingdom, and ſaid, he had wiſhed the embaſſador to confer with him the chancellor upon it, and then aſked him what he thought of it; to which he anſwered that he had not heard of it enough to think of it, for he had not heard or thought of it before that moment, and therefore he ſhould not be able to do more, when the embaſſador came to him, than to hear what he ſaid, and to report it to his majeſty. For the preſent he only aſked whether his majeſty had given over all thoughts of a Proteſtant wife. To which he anſwered he could find none ſuch, except amongſt his own ſubjects, and amongſt them he had ſeen none to pleaſe him enough to that end. And obſerving the chancellor to look fixedly upon him, he ſaid that he would never think more of the princeſs of Orange's daughter, her mother having uſed him ſo ill when he propoſed himſelf; and if he ſhould now think of it, he knew his mother would never conſent to it, and that it would break his ſiſter's heart; therefore he had reſolved never to entertain that thought again, and that he ſaw no objection againſt this overture from Portugal, that would not occur againſt any other, where the advantages would not be many or ſo great.

What could the chancellor ſay? what objection could he make, why this overture ſhould not be hearkened to, and what might the king have thought, or what might he not have thought, if he had adjuſted him to reject this motion? he gave him no other anſwer for the preſent, than that he deſired nothing more in this world, than to ſee his majeſty well married, and he was very confident, that all his good

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ſubjects were of the ſame mind, and therefore there muſt be ſome very viſible inconvenience in it, where he ſhould diſſuade him not to embrace ſuch an opportunity; that he ſhould be ready to confer with the Portugal embaſſador, when he came, and then he ſhould entertain his majeſty further upon that ſubject. The embaſſador came to him, repeated what he ſaid and propoſed to the king with little other enlargement, than concerning the benefit England would receive by the two places of Tangier and Bombay, and the deſcription of their ſituation and ſtrength, of all which the chancellor gave his majeſty a faithfull account, without preſuming to mingle with it a word of his own advice. The king appeared abundantly pleaſed and willing to proceed further, and aſked what was next to be done; to which he anſwered that it was a matter of too great importance for him to deliver any opinion upon, indeed too great for his majeſty himſelf to reſolve upon the private advice of any one man, how agreeable ſoever it ſhould be to his own inclination and judgement; and therefore he deſired him that he would call to him four or five perſons, whom he thought to be the moſt competent conſiderers of ſuch an affair, and to conſult it very naturely with them, before he entertained any more confidence with the embaſſador; for whatſoever he ſhould think upon it, it ought to be yet only kept in all poſſible ſecrecy. If it ſhould be thought fit to be rejected it ought to be without the leaſt noiſe and the leaſt reflexion upon the overture, which had been made with all the poſſible demonſtrations of eſteem. If it ſhould appear worthy of entertainment and acceptation, it would require the ſame ſecrecy, till the value and conſequence of all the particulars propoſed by the embaſſador might be fully examined and weighed, and a more particular and ſubſtantial aſſu-

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rance given for the accompliſhment than the bare word of the embaſſador. The king appointed that the lord treaſurer, the marquis of Ormonde, the lord chamberlain, and ſecretary Nicholas ſhould be together at the chancellor's houſe, where his majeſty would likewiſe be, and propoſe the buſineſs to them. And accordingly he did relate to them the whole ſeries of what had paſſed, and required them with all poſſible freedom to deliver opinions, and to conſider whether there was any other princeſs or lady in their view, with whom he might marry more advantageouſly. He added that he had ſpoken with the earl of Sandwich and Sir John Lawſon occaſionally, and merrily as looſe diſcourſe, what place Tangier was, which he pointed to in the map, and whether it was well known to them, and they both ſaid they knew it well from ſea, but that Sir John Lawſon had been in it, and ſaid that it was a place of that importance, that, if it were in the hands of the Hollanders, they would quickly make a mole, which they might eaſily do; that now ſhips could not ride there in ſuch a wind, which his majeſty named, but if there were a mole, they would ride ſecurely in all weather, and they would keep the place againſt all the world, and give the law to all the trade of the Mediterranean. With which diſcourſe his majeſty ſeemed very much affected. After many queſtions and much debate, and ſome of the lords wiſhing that it were poſſible to get a Queen that was a Proteſtant, and one of them naming the daughter of Harry prince of Orange, of whom they had heard ſome mention when his majeſty was beyond the ſeas, and of whoſe elder ſiſter (then married to the elector of Brandenbourgh) there had been ſome diſcourſe in the life of the late king, his majeſty quickly declared that he had very unanſwer-

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able reaſons, why he could not entertain that alliance. All the lords quickly agreed that there was no catholick princeſs in Europe, whom his majeſty could with ſo much reaſon and advantage marry, as the Infanta of Portugal; that the portion propoſed in money, ſetting aſide the places, was much greater, almoſt double to whatever any king had either received in money, by any marriage; and the places ſeemed to be ſituated uſefully for trade, the increaſe whereof his majeſty was to endeavour with all poſſible ſolicitude; which could only make this nation flouriſh and recover the intereſt they had loſt; eſpecially in the Indies and in the Mediterranean, by the late troubles and diſtractions; and the advantage the Dutch had thereby gotten over the Engliſh in thoſe trades, as well as in other. The king approved all that had been ſaid, and thereupon appointed all thoſe lords with the ſame ſecrecy to enter into a treaty with the embaſſador, which was begun between them accordingly.

The treaty neither was, nor could be a ſecret; nor was there any thing more generally deſired, than that a treaty of alliance and commerce ſhould be made with Portugal, that the trade might continue with ſecurity; and it was very grateful to every body to know that there was a committee appointed to that purpoſe; but the propoſition towards a marriage was ſtill a ſecret, not communicated to any; nor ſo much as ſuſpected by the Spaniſh embaſſador, who did all he could to obſtruct the very treaty of alliance, of whoſe proceedings there will be occaſion to mention anon by itſelf. The embaſſador offered to renew the treaties (if that of the mariage was conſented to) in terminis that had been made with Cromwell, without being ſo much as exempted from that yearly payment which had been impo-

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ſed upon them for aſſiſting prince Rupert; and had been aſſigned to the merchants to ſatisfy the damages they had ſuſtained by prince Rupert; and the releaſe whereof muſt have obliged the king to pay it himſelf; and therefore that offer was looked upon as a generous thing, and the whole treaty, which they had not yet peruſed, was generally looked upon and beleived to be the moſt advantageous to England, that had been ever entered into with any crown. It had been foreſeen from the firſt motion towards this marriage, that it would be very hard with ſuch alliance, to avoid ſuch a conjunction with Portugal, as would produce a war with Spain, which the king had no mind to be engaged in. For beſides that he had received ſome civilities from that king after a world of diſobligations, his reſident at Madrid (Sir Henry Bennet) had conſented in his majeſty's name that the old treaty, which had been made between the two crowns in the year 1630, ſhould be again obſerved, of which more anon, but his majeſty's firm reſolution at that time was wholly to intend the compoſing or ſubduing the diſtembers and ill humours in his three kingdoms, and all his other dominions; and till that ſhould be fully done, he would have no difference with any of his neighbours, nor be engaged in a war, which he could avoid. A reſolution very prudently made, and which if it had been adhered to, much evil, which ſucceeded the departure from it, might have been prevented. But the lords found upon the peruſal of the treaty one article (which was indeed the only article that made any ſhew of benefit and advantage to Portugal) by which Cromwell was obliged to aſſiſt Portugal, when they ſhould require it, with ſix thouſand foot, to be levied in England at their charge. And now the embaſſador urged that in conſideration of the marriage, the

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portion, the delivery of thoſe places, and his majeſty's own intereſt by that marriage in Portugal, which upon the death of the king and his brother muſt devolve to his majeſty, he would take upon him the protection of that kingdom, and denounce war with Spain. To which his majeſty warmly and poſitively anſwered, that he would admit no ſuch engagement; that he was not in a condition to make a war, till he could not avoid it. He would do what was lawfull for him to do; he could chuſe a wife for himſelf; and he could help a brother and ally with a levy of men at their charge, without entring into a war with any other prince; and if Spain ſhould either upon his marriage or ſuch ſupply declare a war againſt him, he would defend himſelf as well as he could; and do as much damage as he could to Spain; and that then he would apply ſuch aſſiſtance to Portugal, as ſhould be moſt advantageous to it; and that he ſhould not be willing to ſee it reduced under the obedience of Spain for many reaſons. That in the mean time he would aſſiſt them with the ſame number as Cromwell had promiſed, and tranſport them at his charge thither, provided that as ſoon as they were landed, they ſhould be received in the king of Portugal's pay. Which offer the king made upon a reaſon, not then communicated, and which will be mentioned hereafter. Beſides that he had ſuch a body of men ready for ſuch a ſervice, which could with much more ſecurity and little more charge be tranſported to Portugal than be diſbanded in the place where they were. When the embaſſador found that the king would not be perſuaded to enter directly into a war with Spain, tho' he offered to put Bercelona into his hands, of which Don Joſeph Margarita (a perſon who had conducted the revolt of

that city, and all the rebellion which had been lately in Catalonia) then in Paris, ſhould come over and give unqueſtionable aſſurance, all which with many other propoſitions of the ſame nature his majeſty totally rejected, he concluded that the alliance and marriage would give a preſent reputation to Portugal, and make impreſſion upon the ſpirits of Spain; and that a war hereafter would fall out unavoidably, and ſo accepted what the king had offered; and then there remained nothing to be done, but to give unqueſtionable ſecurity to the king for the performance of all the particulars which had been promiſed; and for which there appeared yet no other warrant, than letters and inſtructions to the embaſſador from the queen regent; and for further ſatisfaction therein the embaſſador offered preſently to paſs into Portugal, and doubted not in as ſhort time as could be expected to return with ſuch power and authority and ſuch a full conceſſion of what had been propoſed, as ſhould be very ſatisfactory; which his majeſty well liked, and wrote himſelf to the queen regent and to the king ſuch letters, as ſignified his full reſolution for the marriage; if all the particulars promiſed by the embaſſador in writing ſhould be made good: and wrote himſelf a letter with his own hand to the Infanta, as to a lady whom he looked upon as his wife. And aſſigned two ſhips to attend the embaſſador, who immediately and with ſome appearance or pretence of diſcontent or diſſatisfaction, that the ſecret might be the leſs diſcovered, embarked with all his family for the river of Liſbon. And to this time the chancellor had never mentioned any particular advice of his own to the king, more than his concurrence with the reſt of the lords; nor in truth had any of them ſhewed

more

inclination towards it, than the king himſelf had done, who ſeemed marvaillouſly pleaſed: and had ſpoken much more in private with the embaſſador upon it, than any of the lords had done, and of ſome particulars, which they were never acquainted with.

That I may not break off the thread of this diſcourſe, till I bring it to a concluſion, nor leave out any important particular that related to that ſubject, I ſhall in this place make mention of a little cloud or eclipſe raiſed by the activity and reſtleſneſs of the earl of Briſtol; that ſeemed to interpoſe and darken the ſplendour of this treaty; and to threaten the life thereof by extinguiſhing it in the bud. Upon which occaſion the chancellor thought himſelf obliged to appear more for it, than he had hitherto done: and which afterwards (how unjuſtly ſoever) was turned to his reproach. This earl (who throughout the whole courſe of his life frequently adminiſtred vanity of diſcourſe, that could not be applied to any other man,) upon the defeat of Sir George Booth, when all the kings hopes in England ſeemed deſperate, had not the patience to expect another change, that preſently ſucceeded; but preſently changed his religion, and declared himſelf roman catholick, that he might with undoubted ſucceſs apply himſelf to the ſervice of Spain; to which the preſent good acceptation he had with Don Juan, was the greater encouragement. He gave account by a particular letter to the Pope of this his converſion, which was delivered by the general of the Jeſuits. In return of which he received a cuſtomary brief from his ſanctity, with the old piece of ſcripture never left out in thoſe occaſions. *Tu converſus converte fratres tuos.* The noiſe and ſcandal of this defection and apoſtacy in a ſworn councellor of the king, and one of his ſecretaires of ſtate,

made it neceſſary for the king to remove him from both thoſe truſts, which he made himſelf incapable to execute by the laws of England; and which he propoſed himſelf to enjoy with the more advantage by his charge, and believed that the king, who ſeemed to have no other hopes towards his reſtoration, than in catholick princes, would not think this a ſeaſon in ordinary policy to diſgrace a ſervant of his eminence and relation, for no other reaſon than his becoming catholick by which he ſhould have ſo many opportunities to ſerve his maſter. And this he had the confidence to urge to the king, before he was obliged to deliver the ſignet; and to forbear the being preſent any more in council; and this diſplacing and remove he imputed intirely to his old friend the chancellor (with whom till that minute he had for many years held a moſt firm friendſhip;) and the more becauſe he received from his majeſty the ſame countenance he had before, without any reprehenſion for what he had done; the king not being at all ſurprized with his declaration, becauſe he had long known that he was very indifferent in all matters of religion, and looked upon the outward profeſſion of any as depending wholly upon the convenience or diſcommodity that might be enjoyed by it; and with ſuch diſcourſe he had too much entertained the king, who would never ſpeak ſeriouſly with him upon that ſubject. And truly his own relation of the manner of his converſion with all the circumſtances, and the diſcourſe of an ignorant old Jeſuit, whom he perfectly contemned, and of a ſimple good woman the abbeſs of a convent which contributed to it, was ſo ridiculous, and adminiſtred ſuch occaſion of mirth, that his majeſty thought laughing at him to be the beſt reproof. And the earl bore that ſo well and gratefully from the king,

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and from his other familiar friends too, (for he diſſembled his taking any thing ill of the chancellor) and contributed ſo much himſelf to the mirth, that he was never better company than upon that argument. And any man would have believed that he had not a worſe opinion of the religion he had forſaken, or of any other by his becoming Roman Catholick. When the king made his journey to Fontarabiato conclude the treaty between the two crowns, the earl of Briſtol's irreſiſtible importunity prevailed with him to permit him to go likewiſe, tho' his majeſty had received advertiſement from Sir Harry Bennet, that Don Lewis de Haro deſired that he might not come with his majeſty thither. The leaſt part of the miſchief that he had done in that journey was, that he prevailed with the king to make ſo many diverſions and delays in it that the treaty was concluded before he came thither: and he was very near being diſappointed of all the fruit he had propoſed to himſelf to receive from it. However it was finiſhed ſo much the better that he left the earl behind him, who in the ſhort time of his ſtay there, had ſo far inſinuated himſelf into the grace and good opinion of Don Lewis de Haro, who came with all the prejudice and deteſtation imaginable towards him, as he had to his extraordinary parts a marvaillous faculty to get himſelf believed, that he was well content that he ſhould go with him to Madrid. Where the king upon the memory of his father (who had deſerved well from that crown, or rather had ſuffered much for not having deſerved ill) received him graciouſly. And there he reſided in the reſident's houſe, who had been his ſervant, in ſuch a repoſe, as was agreeable to his fancy, that he might project his own fortune which was the only thing his heart was ſet upon; and of which he deſpaired in his own country.

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The news of the king's miraculous reſtoration quickly arrived at Madrid, and put an end to the earl's further deſigns, believing he could not do better abroad, than he might do in his own country. And ſo he undertook his journey through France laden with many obligations from that court, and arrived at London about the time, that the embaſſador was imbarked for Portugal. The king of Spain had ſoon after the king's arrival ſent the prince of Ligna with a very ſplendid embaſſage to congratulate with his Majeſty about the time that the count of Soiſſons came from France on the ſame errand. And after his return the baron of Breteville, was ſent from Spain as ordinary embaſſador, a man born in Burgundy in the Spaniſh quarters, and bred a ſoldier, in which profeſſion he was an officer of note, and at that time was governor of St. Sebaſtian's, and that province. He ſeemed a rough man, and to have more of the camp, but in truth knew the intrigues of a court better than moſt Spaniards: and except when his paſſion ſurprized, wary and cunning in his negotiation. He lived with leſs reſervation and more jollity than the miniſter, of that crown uſed to do, and drew ſuch of the court to his table and converſation, who he obſerved were loud talkers, and confident enough in the king's preſence. In the firſt private audience he delivered a memorial to his majeſty in which he required the delivery of the iſland of Jamaica to his catholick majeſty, it having been taken by his rebel ſubjects contrary to the treaty of peace between the two crowns: and likewiſe that his majeſty, would cauſe Dunkirk and Mardyke to be reſtored to his catholick majeſty as having not only been taken contrary to that treaty, and when his majeſty was entertained in that king's dominions with all courteſy and reſpect: and he likewiſe

required

required in the king his maſter's name, that the king would not give any aſſiſtance, nor enter into any treaty of alliance with Portugal, for that the ſame as the reſt was directly contrary to the laſt treaty, which was now again revived and ſtood in force by the declaration of his majeſty's reſident at Madrid, which was the firſt notice any of his majeſty's ſervants had of any ſuch declaration. But when he had delivered theſe memorials to the king, he never called for an anſwer, nor willingly entered upon the diſcourſe of either of the ſubjects, but put it off merrily, as a thing he was to do of form once, that his maſter's juſt title might be remembered, but not to be preſſed till a fitter conjuncture, for he eaſily diſcovered what anſwer he ſhould receive. And ſo took the advantage of the licence of the court, where no rules or formalities were yet eſtabliſhed (and to which the king himſelf was not enough inclined) but left all doors open to all perſons; which the embaſſador finding he made himſelf a domeſtick, came to the king at all hours, and ſpoke to him when and as long as he would, without any ceremony or deſiring an audience according to the old cuſtom; but came into the bedchamber, whilſt the king was dreſſing himſelf, and mingled in all diſcourſes with the ſame freedom he could uſe in his own. And from this never heard of licence introduced by the French and the Spaniard at this time, without any diſlike from the king tho' not permitted in any other court in chriſtendom, many inconveniencies and miſchiefs broke in, which could never after be ſhut out.

As ſoon as the earl of Briſtol came to the court, he was very willing to be looked upon as wholly devoted to the Spaniſh intereſt. And ſo made a particular friendſhip with

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the Spaniſh embaſſador, with whom he had a former acquaintance whilſt the king had been at Fontarabia, that he might give a teſtimony of his gratitude for the favours he had received ſo lately at Madrid. The king received him with his accuſtomed good countenance, and he had an excellent talent in ſpreading that leaf gold very thin, that it might look much more than it was; and took pains by being always in his preſence, and often whiſpering in his ear; and talking upon ſome ſubjects with a liberty not ungratefull, to have it believed that he was more than ordinarily acceptable to his majeſty. And the king not wary enough againſt thoſe invaſions did communicate more to him of the treaty with Portugal, than he had done to any other perſon, except thoſe who were immediately truſted in it. The earl had always promiſed himſelf (tho' he knew he could not be of the council, nor in any miniſtry of the ſtate by reaſon of his religion) that he was in ſo good eſteem with his majeſty and moſt of thoſe who were truſted by him, that he ſhould have a great ſhare in all foreign affairs, and ſhould be conſulted with in all matters of that kind in regard of the long experience he had in foreign parts (which indeed amounted to no more than a great exactneſs in the languages of thoſe parts) and therefore he was ſurprized with the notice of this affair; and preſently expreſſed his diſlike of it, and told his majeſty that he would be exceedingly deceived in it; that Portugal was poor and not able to pay the portion they had promiſed; that now it was forſaken by France, Spain would overrun and reduce it in one year; enlarging upon the great preparations which were made for that expedition, of which Don Lewis de Hara himſelf would be general, and was ſure of a great party in Portugal itſelf, that

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was weary of that government, ſo that miſerable family had no hope, but by tranſporting themſelves and their poor party in their ſhips to Brazil, and their other large territories in the Eaſt Indies, which were poſſeſſed only by Portugueze, who might poſſibly be willing to be ſubject to them, and that this was ſo much in the view of all men, that it was all the care Spain had to prevent it. The king did not inform him that he had concluded any thing, and that the embaſſador was gone for more ample powers to ſatisfy his majeſty that all, that was promiſed ſhould be performed. The earl of Briſtol who valued himſelf upon his great faculty in obſtructing and puzzling any thing that was agreed on, and in contriving whereof he had no hand, repaired to the Spaniſh embaſſador, and informed him under obligation of ſecrecy of what treaty the king was entered upon with Portugal by the advice of the chancellor, which he hoped that they two ſhould find means to break. But the embaſſador's breaſt was not large enough to contain that ſecret, that burned his entrails. He talked of it in all places with great paſſion, and then took it up from common report, and ſpoke to the king of it, and ſaid the Portugal embaſſador had in his vanity braged of it to ſome catholicks, and promiſed them great things upon it, none of which he was confident could be true; and that his majeſty could never be prevailed with to conſent to ſuch a treaty, which would prove ruinous to himſelf and his kingdom; for the king of Spain could not but reſent it to ſuch a degree, as would bring great inconvenience to his affairs, and his majeſty forbearing to give him any anſwer, at leaſt not ſuch a one as pleaſed him, his rage tranſported him to undervalue the perſon of the Infanta. He ſaid ſhe was deformed, and had many diſeaſes; and that it was very well

known in Portugal and Spain that ſhe was incapable to bear children, and many particulars of that nature. When he had ſaid the ſame things ſeveral days to the king, the earl of Briſtol took his turn again, and told the king other things which the embaſſador had communicated to him in truſt, and which he durſt not preſume to ſay to his majeſty; and which in truth he had ſaid himſelf, being concerning the perſon of the Infanta, and her incapacity to have children, upon which he inlarged very pathetically and ſaid he would ſpeak freely with the chancellor of it, upon whom the ill conſequences of this council would fall. He told him there were many beautifull ladies in Italy of the greateſt houſes, and that his majeſty might take his choice of them; and the king of Spain would give a portion with her as if ſhe were a daughter of Spain, and the king ſhould marry her as ſuch. And the embaſſador ſhortly after propoſed the ſame thing, and inlarged much upon it; and both the earl and the embaſſador conferred with the chancellor (concealing the propoſition they had made concerning the Italian ladies) as of a matter the town talked of, and exceedingly diſliked, the more becauſe it was generally known that that princeſs could not have any children. He king himſelf had informed the chancellor of all that had paſſed from the embaſſador, and of his rudeneſs towards the Infanta, and his declaring that ſhe could have no children; and told him that the earl of Briſtol reſolved to confer with him, and doubted not to convert him, without ſeeming himſelf to have been moved with any thing that the embaſſador or the earl had ſaid to him. So that when they both came afterwards to him, not together, but ſeverally, and he perceived that his majeſty had not to either of them imparted, how far he had proceeded, but had

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heard them talk as of ſomewhat they had taken up from publick rumour, and he had himſelf diſcourſed of it as ſprung from ſuch a fountain, the chancellor did not take himſelf to be at liberty to enter into a ſerious debate of the matter with them; but permitted them to enjoy the pleaſure of their own opinion, and to believe that either there had been no inclination to ſuch a treaty, or that the weight of their reaſons would quickly overturn it.

Whether the king grew leſs inclined to marry, and liked the liberty he enjoyed too well, to be willing to be reſtrained, or whether what had been ſaid to him of the Infanta's perſon, and her unaptneſs for children had made ſome impreſſion in him, or whether the earl of Briſtol's deſcribing the perſons of the Italian ladies, and magnifying their converſations, in which arguments he had naturally a very luxurious ſtyle, unlimited by any rules of truth or modeſty, it is not to be denied that his majeſty appeared much colder, and leſs delighted to ſpeak of Portugal, than he had been: and would ſometimes wiſh that the embaſſador had not gone, and that he would quickly return without commiſſion to give his majeſty ſatisfaction. He ſeemed to reflect on a war with Spain, which he ſaid could not poſſibly be avoided in that alliance, with more apprehenſion than he had formerly done, when that contingency had been debated. All which diſcourſe troubled the lords, who had been truſted, very much, not conceiving that the embaſſador's frantick diſcourſe could have any weight in it, or that the earl of Briſtol (whoſe levity and vanity was enough known to the king) could make that impreſſion in him. However it appeared that the earl was much more in private with him, than he had uſed to be, many hours ſhut up together; and when the king came from him, that

he ſeemed to be perplexed and full of thoughts. One morning the earl came to the chancellor, and after ſome compliments and many proteſtations of his inviolable friendſhip, he told him he was come to take his leave of him for ſome months, being to begin a long journey, as ſoon as he ſhould part with him, for he had already kiſſed the king's hand; and his friendſhip would not permit him to be reſerved towards him, and to keep a ſecret of that vaſt importance from his knowledge. He ſaid that the king had heard ſuch unanſwerable reaſons againſt his marriage with Portugal, that he was firmly reſolved never more to entertain a thought of it; that the Spaniſh embaſſador had recommended two princeſſes to him, whereof he might take his choice, of incomparable beauty, and all excellent parts of mind, who ſhould be endowed as a daughter of Spain by that king, to whom they were allied, and ſo named the ladies. He ſaid this diſcourſe had prevailed very far upon the king, as a thing that could raiſe no jealouſies in France, with whom he deſired to live, that he might be ſure to have peace in his own dominions. There was only one thing in which he deſired to be better ſatisfied, which was the perſons, beauties and good humours of the princeſſes, and that he had ſo good an opinion of his judgement, that he was confident if he ſaw them, he would eaſily know if either of them was like to pleaſe his majeſty; and would ſo far truſt him, that if he did believe (knowing his majeſty ſo well as he did,) that one of them would be gratefull, he ſhould carry power with him to propound and conclude a treaty, which he ſaid he carried with him, and likewiſe other letters upon which he ſhould firſt find ſucceſs and admiſſion, as would enable him to judge of their nature and humour, as well as of their beauty;

beauty. He ſeemed much tranſported with the great truſt repoſed in him, and with the aſſurance that he ſhould make the king and kingdom happy; and he ſaid one reaſon beſides his friendſhip, that had made him impart this great ſecret, was a preſumption, that now he knew how far his majeſty was diſpoſed, and in truth engaged in this particular, he could beſt do any thing to croſs or interrupt the deſign. The chancellor enough amazed by ſome queſtions, found he was utterly uninformed how far the king ſtood engaged unto Portugal, and knowing the incredible power the earl had over himſelf to make him believe any thing he had a mind ſhould be true, he uſed little more diſcourſe with him, than to wiſh him a good journey. Upon the firſt opportunity he told the king all, that the earl had ſaid to him, with which his majeſty ſeemed not pleaſed, as expecting that the ſecret ſhould have been kept better. He did not diſſemble his not wiſhing that the treaty with Portugal might ſucceed, and confeſſed that he had ſent the earl of Briſtol to ſee ſome ladies in Italy, who were extolled by the Spaniſh embaſſador, but denied that he had given him ſuch powers, as he had brag'd of. The chancellor thereupon aſked him, whether he well remembred his engagement which he had voluntarily made, and without any body's perſuaſion to the king and queen regent; and deſired him to impart his new reſolution to the lords, who were formerly truſted by him. That probably he might find good reaſon and juſt arguments to break off the treaty with portugal, which ought to be firſt done, before he imbarked himſelf in another; otherwiſe that he would ſo far expoſe his honour to reproach, that all princes would be afraid of entring into any treaty with him. This was every word of perſuaſion that he then or

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ever after uſed to him upon this affair; nor did it at that time ſeem to make any impreſſion in him. However he ſent for the lord treaſurer, and conferred at large with him and the lord marquis of Ormonde, and finding them exceedingly ſurprized with what he had done, and that they gave the ſame and other ſtronger arguments againſt it, than the other had done, his majeſty ſeemed to recolect himſelf and to think, that whatever reſolution he ſhould think fit to take in the end, that he had not choſen the beſt way and method of proceeding towards it, and reſolved to call the earl back, which he ſaid he could infallibly do by Sir Kenelm Digby, who knew how to ſend a letter to him, before he had proceeded farther in his journey; it having been before agreed, that he ſhould make a halt in ſuch and ſuch places, to the end that he might be advertiſed of any occurrences. And his majeſty did write the ſame night to him to return, becauſe it was neceſſary to have ſome new conferrence with him, and the letter was ſent by Sir Kenelm Digby, and probably received by the earl in time. But he continued his journey into Italy, and after his ſcheme pretended not to have received that letter, or any other to return, till it was too late; being at that time entered upon the borders or confines of Italy, in which he had not the good fortune to be believed. The embaſſador of Portugal diſpatched his voyage with more expedition than could have been expected, and returned, as he believed, with at leaſt as full ſatisfaction to all particulars, as could be expected, but found his reception with ſuch a coldneſs, that ſtruck the poor gentleman (who was naturally hypochondriack) to the heart; nor could he be informed from whence this diſtemper proceeded, and therefore he forbore to deliver his letters

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which he thought might more expoſe the honour of his maſter and miſtreſs to contempt; and remained quietly in his houſe without demanding a ſecond audience, untill he could by ſome way or other be informed what had fallen out ſince his departure, that could raiſe thoſe clouds which appeared in every man's looks. He ſaw the Spaniſh embaſſador exceedingly exhalted with the pride of having put an inſolent affront upon the embaſſador from France, which coſt his maſter dear; and heard that he had braged loudly of his having broken the treaty of Portugal: and it is very true, that he did every day ſomewhat either vainly or inſolently, that gave the king an ill opinion or leſſened the opinion he had of his diſcretion, and made him withdraw much of that countenance from him, which he had formerly given. This and the return of the Portugal embaſſador, with a new title of Marquis de Sande, an evidence according to the cuſtom of that court, that he had well ſerved his maſter in his employment put him into new fury; ſo that he came to the king with new expoſtulations, and gave him a memorial, in which he ſaid that he had orders from his maſter to let his majeſty know, that if his majeſty ſhould proceed towards a marriage with a daughter of the duke of Braganza his maſter's rebel, to take his leave preſently, and to declare war againſt him. The king returned ſome ſharp anſwer preſently to him, and told him, he might be gone as ſoon as he would, and would not receive orders from the catholick king, how to diſpoſe of himſelf in marriage; upon which the embaſſador ſeemed to think he had gone too far, and the next day deſired another audience, wherein he ſaid he had received new orders, and that his catholick majeſty had ſo great an affection for his majeſty and the good of his affairs, that

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having underſtood that in reſpect of the preſent, in religion; nothing could be more miſchievous to him, than to marry a catholick, and therefore he declared that if there were any Proteſtant lady, who would be acceptable to his majeſty (and named the daughter of the princeſs dowager of Orange) the king of Spain would give a portion with her, as with a daughter of Spain, by which his majeſty's affairs and occaſions would be ſupplied. The multiplying theſe and many other extravagancies made the king reflect upon all the embaſſador's proceeding and behaviour, and revolve the diſcourſes he had held with him, and to reconſider, whether they had not made greater impreſſions upon him, than the weight of them would bear. He had himſelf ſpoken with ſome who had ſeen the Infanta, and deſcribed her to be a perſon very different from what the embaſſador had delivered. He had ſeen a picture that was reported to be very like her, and upon the view of it, his majeſty ſaid, that perſon could not be undhandſome. And by degrees conſidering the many things alledged by the embaſſador, which could not be known by him, and could reſult from nothing but his own malice, his majeſty returned to his old reſolution, and ſpoke at large with the Portugal embaſſador with his uſual freedom, and received both the letters and information he brought with him; and declared that he was fully ſatisfied in all the particulars. Nor did the carriage of the Spaniſt embaſſador contribute a little towards his maſters reſolution, for he without any other grounds than from his own fancy (for the king had not declared his purpoſe to any, nor was the thing ſpoken of abroad) and from what he collected from his majeſty's ſharp replies to his inſolent expreſſions, took npon him to do an act of the higheſt extravagance that hath been done in Europe

rope by the miniſter of any ſtate in this age; he cauſed to be printed in Engliſh the copies of the memorials which he had preſented to the king, and of the diſcourſes he had made againſt the match with Portugal, with the offers the king of Spain had made to prevent ſo great a miſchief to the kingdom, and other ſeditious papers to the ſame purpoſe; and cauſed thoſe papers to be ſpread abroad, ſome whereof were caſt out of his own windows amongſt the ſoldiers, as they paſſed to and from the guard. Upon which unheard of miſdemeanor the king was ſo much incenſed that he ſent the ſecretary of ſtate to require him forthwith to depart the kingdom without ſeeing his majeſty's face, which he would not admit him to do; and to let him know that he would ſend a complaint of his miſbehaviour to the king his maſter, from whom he would expect that juſtice ſhould be done upon him. The embaſſador received this meſſage with exceeding trouble and grief, even to tears, and deſired to be admitted to ſee the king, and to make his humble ſubmiſſion, and to beg his pardon, which he was ready to do. But that being denied, within few days he departed the kingdom, carrying with him the character of a very bold, raſh man.

There was an accident about this time that, it is probable, did confirm the king in his reſolution concerning Portugal. At this time cardinal Mazarine was dead, and had never been obſerved to be merry, and to enjoy his natural pleaſant humour from the time of the king's reſtoration, which had deceived all his calculations, and broken all his meaſures. Upon his death the miniſtry was committed to three perſons (the king himſelf being ſtill preſent at all their conſultations) monſieur de Tellier, and monſieur de Leon, the two ſecretaries of ſtate, and monſieur Fouquet

ſurintendant of the finances and procureur general du Roy, who was a man of extraordinary parts, and being not forty years of age enjoyed his full vigour of body and mind, and in reſpect of his ſole power over the finances was looked upon as the premier miniſter. This man as ſoon as he was in the buſineſs, ſent an expreſs into England with a letter to the chancellor, the meſſenger was La Baſteede, who having been ſecretary during the time of his being in England to Burdoe, whilſt he was embaſſador, ſpake Engliſh very well. He, as ſoon as he arrived, went to the chancellor's houſe, and deſired one of his ſervants to let his lord know, that he was newly come from France, and that he deſired to be admitted to a private audience with him, where no body elſe might be preſent: and ſo he was brought into a back room whether the chancellor came to him, to whom he preſented a letter directed to him from monſieur Fouquet. The letter after general compliments took notice of the great truſt he had with his maſter, and that he being now admitted to a part of his maſter's moſt ſecret affairs, and knowing well the affection that was between the two kings, much deſired to hold a cloſe and ſecret correſpondence together, which he preſumed would be for the benefit of both their maſters: the reſt contained only a credential, that he ſhould give credit to all that the bearer ſhould ſay, who was a perſon intirely truſted by him. And then he entered upon his diſcourſe conſiſting of thoſe parts; 1ſt, that the king of France was troubled to hear that there was ſome obſtruction fallen out in the treaty with Portugal, and that it would be a very generous thing in his majeſty to undertake the protection of that crown, which if it ſhould fall into the poſſeſſion of Spain, would be a great damage and a great ſhame to all

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the kings in Europe; that himſelf had heretofore thought of marrying the Infanta of that kingdom, who is a lady of great beauty, and admirable endowment, but that his mother, and the then miniſter, and indeed all other Princes ſo much deſired the peace between the crowns, that he was diverted from that deſign, and that for the perfecting that peace and his marriage with Spain he had been compelled to deſert Portugal for the preſent, and was obliged to ſend no kind of aſſiſtance thither, nor to receive any embaſſador from thence, nor to have any there, all which he could not but obſerve for ſome time, but that Portugal was well aſſured of the continuance of his affection, and that he would find ſome opportunity by one way or other to preſerve it. That he foreſaw that his majeſty might not be provided ſo ſoon after his return, in regard of his other great expences, to diſburſe ſuch a ſum of money, as the ſending a vigorous aſſiſtance, which was neceſſary, would require; but for that he would take care, and for the preſent cauſe to be paid to his majeſty three hundred thouſand piſtoles, which would defray the charge of that ſummer's expedition, and for the future, proviſion ſhould be made proportionable to the charge; and concluded, that he believed the king could not beſtow himſelf better in marriage, than with the Infanta of Portugal: 2dly, a ſecond part was, that there were now in France embaſſadors from the ſtates of the United-Provinces, and the like in England to renew their alliances with both crowns, which they hoped to do upon the diſadvantageous terms they had uſed to obtain it. That thoſe people were grown too proud and inſolent towards all their neighbours, and treated all kings as if they were at leaſt their equalls. That France had been ill uſed by them and was ſenſible of

it, and that the king had not been much beholding to them. And therefore he propoſed that both kings would ſo communicate their councils, that they may reduce that people to live like good neighbours, and with more manners. And that they would treat ſolely, and advance together, and that the one ſhould promiſe not to conclude any thing without communicating it to the other, ſo that both treaties might be concluded together. That 3dly thoſe particulars and whatſoever paſſed between monſieur Fouquet and the chancellor, might be retained with wonderfull ſecrecy: which it would not be, if it were communicated to the queen, or the earl of St. Albans (who were at that time in France,) and therefore his Chriſtian majeſty deſired that neither of them ſhould know of this correſpondence, or any particular that paſſed by it. When the gentleman had finiſhed his diſcourſe, the chancellor told him that he knew monſieur Fouquet to be ſo wiſe a man, that he would not invite or enter into ſuch a correſpondence without the privity and approbation of his maſter; and he preſumed that he had likewiſe ſo good an opinion of him, as to believe, that he would firſt inform his majeſty of all that he received from him, before he would return any anſwer himſelf; that he would take the firſt opportunity to acquaint the king his maſter, and if he would come the next day at the ſame hour (which was about four in the afternoon) to the ſame place, he would return his anſwer.

The king came the next day before the hour aſſigned to the chancellor's houſe, and when he heard the gentleman was come, he vouchſafed himſelf to go into that back room, and the chancellor telling the other that he ſhould be witneſs to his majeſty's approbation of his correſpondence, took notice of the letter he had brought, and

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aſked many kind queſtions concerning monſieur Fouquet who was known to him; and told him that he was very well pleaſed with the correſpondence propoſed, and that the chancellor ſhould perform his part very punctually, and with the ſecrecy that was deſired; and that he would give his own word, that the queen nor the earl of St. Albans ſhould know nothing that ſhould paſs in this correſpondence; which the chancellor obſerving with the fidelity he ought to do, coming after to be known, kindled a new jealouſy and diſpleaſure in the queen, that was never afterwards extinguiſhed. The king told him he would, upon the encouragement and promiſe of the French king, of the performance whereof he could make no doubt, proceed in the treaty with Portugal, and give that kingdom the beſt aſſiſtance he could, without beginning a war with Spain. That for the treaty with Holland, which was but newly begun, for the States, who had made choice of and nominated their embaſſadors, before the king left the Hague, did not ſend them in near ſix months after, which his majeſty looked upon as a great diſreſpect, he would comply with what the king deſired; and that his Chriſtian majeſty ſhould from time to time receive an account how it ſhould advance, and that he would not conclude any thing without his privity. How ill both thoſe engagements which related to Portugal and Holland were afterwards obſerved by France, is fit for another diſcourſe by itſelf. The gentleman much ſatisfied with what the king had ſaid, propoſed that he would make a cypher againſt the next day to be left in the chancellor's hand, becauſe Mr. Fouquet deſired for the preſervation of the ſecret, that the chancellor would always write with his own hand in Engliſh, directed in ſuch a manner as he ſhould propoſe; which would

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always bring the letters safe to the hands of him La Basteede, who was appointed by the king to keep that cypher, and to maintain that correspondence. There was another circumstance attended this private negociation, that may not be unfitly inserted here, and is a sufficient manifestation of the integrity of the chancellor, and how far he was from that corrupt person, which his most corrupt enemies would have him thought to be. The next morning after he had seen the king, La Basteede came again, and desired an audience with the chancellor; he said he had somewhat else in his instructions to say, which he had not yet thought fit to offer, and from thence he entered into a confused manner upon the great power, credit and generosity of monsieur Fouquet, the extent of his power and office, that he could disburse and issue great sums of money without any account so much as to the king himself, without which liberty the king knew many secret services of the highest importance could not be performed. He said he knew the straights and necessities in which the chancellor and others about the king had lived for many years, and tho' he was now returned with much honour, and in great trust with his master, yet he did suppose he might be some time without those furnitures of houshold-stuff and plate, which the grandeur of his office and place required; and therefore that he had sent him a present which in itself was but small, and was only the earnest of as much every year, which should be constantly paid, and more, if he had occasion to use it; for monsieur Fouquet did not look upon it, as of moment to himself, but he knew well the faction in all courts, and that he must have many enemies; and that if he did not make himself friends by acts of generosity and bounty, he must be oppressed; and that

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he had deſigned this ſupply only to that purpoſe. He ſhewed him then bills of exchange and credit for the ſum of ten thouſand pounds ſterling, to be paid at ſight, and ſaid, that he had been with the merchant, who would be ready to pay it that afternoon, ſo that whoever he would pleaſe to appoint, ſhould receive it. The chancellor had heard him with much indignation, and anſwered warmly, that, if this correſpondence muſt expoſe him to ſuch reproach, he ſhould unwillingly enter into it, and wiſhed him to tell monſieur Fouquet, that he would only receive wages from his own maſter. The gentleman ſo little looked for a refuſal, that he would not underſtand it, but perſiſted to know, who ſhould receive the money, which he ſaid ſhould be paid in ſuch a manner, that the perſon, who paid it, ſhould never know, to whom it was paid, and that it ſhould always remain in a ſecret, ſtill preſſing it with importunity, till the other went with manifeſt anger out of the room. That afternoon the king and duke (who was likewiſe informed of that correſpondence) came to the chancellor, and found him out of humour. He told him that Fouquet could not be an honeſt man, and that he had no mind to hold that correſpondence with him, and thereupon repeated, what had paſſed in the morning, with much choler, which made them both laugh at him, ſaying, the French did all their buſineſs that way, and the king told him he was a fool, implying that he ſhould take his money. Whereupon the chancellor beſought him not to appear to his ſervants unconcerned in matters of that nature, which might produce ill effects, and deſired him to conſider, what the conſequence of his receiving that money, with what ſecrecy ſoever, muſt be; that the French king muſt either beleive that he had received it without

without his majeſty's privity, and ſo look upon him as a knave, fit to be depended upon in any treachery againſt his maſter; or that it was with his majeſty's approbation, which muſt needs leſſen his eſteem of him, that he ſhould permit his ſervants of the neareſt truſt to grow rich at the charge of another prince, who might the next day become his enemy. To which the king ſmiling made no other reply, than that few men were ſo ſcrupulous, and commanded him to return a civil anſwer to monſieur Fouquet's letter, and to cheriſh that correſpondence, which he ſaid, might be uſefull to him, and could produce no inconvenience. And ſo when La Baſteede (who could not forbear to uſe more importunity with him to receive the money, till he found he was much offended) brought him the cypher; he delivered him his letter for monſieur Fouquet, and the next week after his return, the king of France wrote to him in his own hand, that the correſpondence monſieur Fouquet had invited him to, was with his majeſty's privity, and that he was well pleaſed with it: and ſo the correſpondence continued till that great man's fall. And then the king ſent all the letters, which had paſſed, and the cypher to the chancellor, and wrote to him from that time, to communicate with all freedom with his embaſſador, which he was before reſtrained from.

After the king had himſelf conferred at large with the Portugal embaſſador, he referred him again to give the lords with whom he had formerly treated, an account, how all particulars were adjuſted in Portugal, which were, he ſaid, in this manner; for the portion, the queen regent having reſolved not to diſpoſe of any of the money, that was provided for the war, had ſold her own jewels, and much of her own plate, and had borrowed both plate and

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jewels from the churches and monaſteries, by which means ſhe had the whole portion ready, which was all ſealed up in bags, and depoſited where no body could take it to apply to any other uſe. For the delivery of Tangier, the old governor, who had lived there long, and was humourous, of whom the queen could not confidently depend, was removed, and another ſent, before he left Liſbon, to take that charge, who was a creature of the queen's, who could not deceive her; and was ſo far truſted, that he knew for what end he was ſent thither, and chearfully undertook to perform it; and that the fleet, which ſhould be ſent for the queen, ſhould firſt go to Tangier, and take poſſeſſion thereof; and till that ſhould be delivered into his majeſty's hands, the queen ſhould not imbarque upon the fleet, nor till all the money ſhould be put on board. That for the delivery of Bombay, it was reſolved likewiſe that the Vice-king and governor of Braſil, under whom that iſland likewiſe is, ſhould be forthwith recalled, and that another (whom he named) of whom the queen had all aſſurance, ſhould be ſent to that high charge; and ſhould be tranſported thither in the fleet, which the king would ſend to receive the Iſland, and would deliver the ſame to the perſon deſigned to receive it. He added that there would be another ſecurity given, greater than any of the reſt, and ſuch a one as had never been given before in ſuch a caſe, that the queen ſhould be delivered on board the fleet, and tranſported into England, before ſhe was married, which was ſuch a truſt, that had never been repoſed in any prince, who, if he would break his word, might put an everlaſting reproach upon their nation. The cauſe of this extraordinary circumſtance was truly this; the power of Spain was ſo great in the court of Rome, notwith-

ſtanding the interpoſition and threatning mediation of France, whoſe embaſſador declared, that Portugal ſhould chuſe a patriarch, and have no longer dependence upon the Pope; that neither Urban, in whoſe reign that kingdom ſevered itſelf from Spain, nor Innocent, nor Alexander, would acknowledge the duke of Braganza for king, nor receive an embaſſador, or other miniſter from him: ſo that they now foreſaw, that if they ſhould in what manner ſoever demand a diſpenſation at Rome (without which the marriage could not be celebrated in Portugal) the intereſt of Spain would cauſe it to be denied; or granted in ſuch a manner as ſhould be worſe for them, for the queen would have been mentioned only as the daughter and ſiſter of the duke of Braganza; and before they would receive that affront, the moſt jealous and moſt apprehenſive nation in the world, choſe rather to ſend the daughter of the kingdom to be married in England, and not to be married till ſhe came thither. Upon the whole matter the king thought not fit to make any further exceptions, but reſolved to aſſemble his whole privy-council, and to communicate the matter to them, for it did remain a ſecret yet, no man knowing, or ſpeaking of it. The council was ſo full, that there was one only councellor that was abſent. The king informed them of all that had paſſed in that affair, how it was firſt propoſed to him, and the objections which occured to him againſt it; for the better clearing whereof the embaſſador had made a voyage into Portugal, and was returned with ſuch ſatisfaction to all particulars, that he thought it now time to communicate the whole to them, that he might receive their advice. He commanded then the particular propoſitions, which were offered by the embaſſador, to be reported; and thereupon he commanded

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and conjured all the lords ſeverally to give him their advice, for he ſaid he had not yet ſo firmly reſolved, but that he might change his mind, if he heard reaſons to move him; and therefore they would not deal faithfully with him, if they did not with all freedom declare their judgement to him. In ſhort, every man delivered his opinion, and every one agreed in the opinion, that it was very fit for his majeſty to embrace the propoſitions, which were of great advantage to himſelf and the kingdom; and that their advice was, that he ſhould ſpeedily and without more delay conclude the treaty: and thereupon his majeſty ſaid, that he looked upon ſo unanimous a concurrence as a good Omen, and that he would follow their advice.

All this was done between the diſſolution of the parliament in December, and aſſembling the other in May following. And upon the firſt day of its coming together, which was upon the 8th of May, the very day twelve month that his majeſty had been proclaimed the year before. And he told them that he had deferred it a week, that they might meet upon that day, for the memory of the former day. The king after ſome gracious expreſſions of his confidence in them, told them, that they would find what method he thought beſt for their proceeding, by two bills which he had cauſed to be provided for them, which were for confirmation of all that had been enacted in the laſt meeting, and repeated, what he had ſaid to them, when he was laſt there: that next to the miraculous bleſſing of God Almighty, and indeed as an immediate effect of that bleſſing, he did impute the good diſpoſition and ſecurity they were all in, to the happy act of indemnity and oblivion, that, his majeſty ſaid, was the principal corner ſtone, that ſupported that excellent building, that created kind-

neſs in them to each other, and confidence was their joint and common ſecurity. He told them he was ſtill of the ſame opinion, and more, if it were poſſible, of that opinion, than he had been, by the experience he had of the benefit of it, and from the unreaſonableneſs of what ſome men ſaid againſt it, he deſired them to provide full remedies for future miſchiefs, to be as ſevere as they would againſt new offenders, eſpecially if they were ſo upon old principles, and that they would pull up thoſe principles by the roots. But his majeſty ſaid he ſhould never think him a wiſe man, that would endeavour to undermine and ſhake that foundation of the publick peace, by infringing that act in the leaſt degree, or that he could be his friend, or wiſh him well, who would perſuade him ever to conſent to the breach of a promiſe, he had ſo ſolemnly made, when he was abroad, and had performed with that ſolemnity after, and becauſe he had promiſed it: and that he could not ſuſpect any attempts of that kind by any men of merit and virtue. And this warmth of his majeſty upon this ſubject was not then more than needed, for the armies being now diſbanded, there were great combinations entered into, not to confirm the act of oblivion, which they knew without confirmation would ſignify nothing. Men were well enough contented that the king ſhould grant indemnity to all men that had rebelled againſt him, that he ſhould grant thoſe lives and fortunes to them, who had forfeited them to him, but they thought it very unreaſonable and unjuſt that the king ſhould releaſe thoſe debts, which were immediately due to them, and forgive thoſe treſpaſſes which had been committed to their particular damage. They could not endure to meet the ſame men in the king's highway, now it was the king's highway again, who had heretofore affronted

affronted them in thoſe ways, becauſe 'twas not the king's; and only becauſe they knew they could obtain no juſtice againſt them. They could not with any patience ſee thoſe men, who not only during the war had oppreſſed them, plundered their houſes, and had their own adorned with the furniture they had robbed them of, ride upon the ſame horſes, which they had then taken from them upon no other pretence, than becauſe they were better than their own; but after the war was ended, had committed many inſolent treſpaſſes upon them wantonly and to ſhew their power of juſtice of peace or committee men; and had from the loweſt beggary raiſed great eſtates, out of which they were well able to ſatisfy, at leaſt in ſome degree, the damages the other had ſuſtained. And theſe, and other paſſions of this kind, which muſt have invalidated the whole act of indemnity could not have been extinguiſhed without the king's influence, and indeed his immediate interpoſition and induſtry. When his majeſty had ſpoken all he thought fit upon that ſubject, he told them he could not conclude without telling them ſome news, news, that he thought would be very acceptable to them; and therefore he ſhould think himſelf unkind and ill-natured, if he ſhould not impart it to him. That he had been often put in mind by his friends, that it was high time to marry, and he had thought ſo himſelf, ever ſince he came into England; but there appeared difficulties enough in the choice, tho' many overtures had been made to him; and if he ſhould never marry, till he could make ſuch a choice, againſt which there could be no foreſight of any inconvenience that might enſue, they would live to ſee him an old batchelor, which he thought they did not deſire to do. He ſaid he would now tell them, not only that he was re-

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ſolved to marry, but whom he reſolved to marry, if it pleaſed God. That towards his reſolution he had uſed that deliberation, and taken that advice, that he ought to do in a caſe of that importance, and with a full conſideration, of the good of his ſubjects in general, as of himſelf. It was with the daughter of Portugal. That when he had as well as he could weighed all that occured to himſelf, the firſt reſolution he took was to ſtate the whole overtures, which had been made to him, and in truth all that had been ſaid againſt it to the privy-council, without hearing whoſe advice he never did, nor ever would reſolve any thing of publick importance: and he ſaid he told them with great ſatisfaction and comfort to himſelf, that after many hours debate in full council, for he thought there was not above one abſent, and he believed upon weighing all that could be ſaid upon that ſubject for or againſt it, the lords without one diſſenting voice adviſed him with all imaginable chearfulneſs to this marriage, which he looked upon as very wonderfull, and even as ſome inſtance of the approbation of God himſelf. That thereupon he had taken his own reſolution, and concluded with the embaſſador of Portugal, who was departing with the whole treaty ſigned, which they could find to contain many great advantages to the kingdom, and that he would make all the haſte he could to fetch them a queen hither, who he doubted not would bring great bleſſings with her to him and them. The next day the two houſes of parliament after they had expreſſed all the joy imaginable amongſt themſelves, ſent to the king that he would appoint a time, when he would admit them to his preſence, which when he had done, both Houſes of parliament in a body preſented by the ſpeaker of

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the Houſe of Peers their humble thanks to his majeſty, for that he had vouchſafed to acquaint them with his reſolution to marry, which had exceedingly rejoiced their hearts; and would, they doubted not, draw God's bleſſing upon his majeſty and the kingdom. Shortly after the fleet was made ready, and the earl of Sandwich Admiral thereof was likewiſe made embaſſador to Portugal, and appointed to receive the queen, and to conduct her into England. This was the whole proceeding from the beginning to the end of that treaty about the marriage of the king, by the whole circumſtances whereof it is apparent enough that no particular corruption in any ſingle perſon could have brought it to paſs in that manner; and that the chancellor never propoſed it, nor heard of it but from the king himſelf; nor advanced it afterwards more than every one of the other lords did. And if he had done leſs, he could neither have been thought a prudent or an honeſt man, to which no more ſhall be added, that either before, or in the treaty, or after the marriage, he never received the leaſt reward, or the leaſt preſent from Portugal.

During the interval of parliament the king had made choice of many very eminent and learned men, who were conſecrated to ſome of the ſees of Biſhops, which were void, that the preſervation of ſucceſſion might not depend upon the lives of the ten Biſhops, who remained, and who were all very aged; which could not have been done ſooner, nor till the other parliament to whom the ſettlement of the church had been referred, was diſſolved; nor could he yet give any remedy to the licenſe in the practice of religion, which in all places was full of ſcandal and diſorder; becauſe the liturgy was not yet finiſhed, till when the indulgence

indulgence by his declaration, was not to be reſtrained. But at the ſame time that he iſſued out his writs for convening the parliament he had likewiſe ſent ſummons to the biſhops for the meeting of the clergy in convocation, which is the legal ſynod in England, againſt the coming together whereof the liturgy would be finiſhed, which his majeſty intended to ſend thither to be examined, debated and confirmed; and then he hoped to provide with the aſſiſtance of the parliament ſuch a ſettlement in religion, as would prevent any diſorder in the ſtate upon thoſe pretences. And it was very neceſſary to loſe no time in the proſecution of that care, for the malignity againſt the church appeared to encreaſe, and to be greater than it was upon the coming in of the king. The old biſhops who remained alive, and ſuch deans and chapters as were numerous enough for the corporation, who had been long kept faſting, had now appetites proportionable. Moſt of them were very poor, and had undergone great extremities, ſome of the biſhops having ſupported themſelves and their families by teaching ſchools, and ſubmitting to the like low condeſcenſions; and others ſaid that if they died, before they were enabled to make ſome proviſion for them, their wives and children muſt unavoidably ſtarve; and therefore they made haſte to enter upon their own: and, now an ordinance of parliament had not ſtrength enough to batter an act of parliament, they called their old tenants to account for rent, and to renew their eſtates if they had a mind to it, for moſt old leaſes were expired in the long continuance of the war; and the old tenants had been compelled either to purchaſe a new right and title from the ſtate, (when the ordinance paſſed for taking away all biſhops, deans and chapters and for ſelling all their lands, which belonged to them) or to

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ſell their preſent eſtates to thoſe, who had purchaſed the reverſion and inheritance thereof; ſo that both the one and the other, the old tenants and the new purchaſers repaired to the true owners, as ſoon as the king was reſtored, the former expecting to be reſtored again to the poſſeſſion of what they had ſold, under an unreaſonable pretence of a tenant's right (as they called it) becauſe there remained yet (as in many caſes there did) a year or ſome other term of their old leaſe unexpired, and becauſe they had out of conſcience forborn to buy the inheritance of the church, which was firſt offered to them, and for the refuſal thereof, and ſuch a reaſonable fine as was uſual, they hoped to have a new leaſe, and to be readmitted to be tenants to the church; the other, the purchaſers, amongſt which there were ſome very infamous perſons, appeared as confident, and did not think, that according to the clemency that was practiced towards all ſorts of men, it could be thought juſtice, that they ſhould loſe the intire ſum they had diſburſed upon the faith of that government, which the whole kingdom ſubmitted to, but that they ſhould inſtead of the inheritance they had an ill title to, have a good leaſe for lives or years granted to them by them who had now the right, at leaſt that upon the old rent and moderate fines they ſhould be continued tenants to the church, without any regard to thoſe who had ſold both their poſſeſſions, and with that all the right or title, that they might pretend to, for a valuable conſideration; and they had the more hope of this, becauſe the king had granted a commiſſion under the great ſeal of England to ſome lords of the council and other eminent perſons, to interpoſe and mediate with the biſhops and clergy in ſuch caſes as ought not to be proſecuted with rigour: but the

biſhops and clergy concerned had not the good fortune to pleaſe their old or their new tenants; they had been very barbarouſly uſed themſelves, and that had too much quenched all tenderneſs towards others; they did not enough diſtinguiſh between perſons, nor did the ſuffering any man had undergone for fidelity to the king, or his affection to the church eminently expreſſed, often prevail for the mitigation of his fine, or if it did ſometimes, three or four ſtories of the contrary, and in which there had been ſome unreaſonable hardneſs uſed, made a greater noiſe and ſpread further than their examples of charity and moderation; and as honeſt men did uſually fare the better for any merit, ſo the purchaſers, who offered moſt money, did not fare the worſe for all the villanies they had committed, and two or three unhappy inſtances of this kind brought ſcandal upon the whole church, as if they had been all guilty of the ſame exceſſes, which they were far from; and by this means the new biſhops who did not all follow the preſidents made by the old, underwent the ſame reproaches, and many of them, who had adhered to their order, and for ſo doing had undergone for twenty years together ſundry perſecutions and expreſſions, were not in their preſent paſſion ſo much pleaſed with the renewing of it, as they expected to have been; yet upon a very ſtrict examination of the true grounds of all thoſe miſpriſions (except ſome few inſtances which cannot be defended) there will be found more paſſion than juſtice in them, and that there was ever a neceſſity to raiſe as much money as could be juſtly done for the repairing the cathedrals, which were all miſerably ruinated or defaced, and for the intirely building up many houſes of the prebends, which had been pulled down or let fall to the ground, and theſe ways much more of

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thoſe monies, which were raiſed by fines, were iſſued and expended, than what went into the private purſes of them, who had a right to them, and had need enough of them: but the time begun to be froward again, and all degrees of men were hard to be pleaſed, eſpecially when they ſaw one claſſis of men reſtored to more, than they had ever loſt and preferred to a plenty they had never been acquainted with whilſt themſelves remained remedileſs after ſo many ſufferings, and without any other teſtimony of their courage and fidelity, than in the ruin of their fortunes and ſale of their inheritance.

Another great work was performed between the diſſolution of the laſt, and the beginning of the next parliament which was the ceremony of the king's coronation, and was done with the greateſt ſolemnity and glory, that ever any had been ſeen in that kingdom, that the novelties and new inventions, with which the kingdom had been ſo much intoxicated for ſo many years together, might be diſcountenanced and diſcredited in the eyes of the people for the folly and want of ſtate thereof, his majeſty had directed that the records and old formularies ſhould be examined, and thereupon all things ſhould be prepared, and all forms accuſtomed to be uſed, that might add luſtre and ſplendour to the ſolemnity; a court of claims was erected, where before the lords commiſſioners for that ſervice, all perſons made claim to thoſe privileges and precedency, which they conceived to be due to their perſons or the offices of which they were poſſeſſed, in the ceremony of the coronation, which were allowed or rejected as their right appeared. The king went early in the morning to the tower of London in his coach, moſt of the lords being there before and about ten of the clock they ſet forward towards Whitehall,

ranged in that order, as the Heralds had appointed: thoſe of the long Robe, the king's council at law, the maſters of chancery and judges going firſt, and ſo the lords in their order very ſplendidly habited on rich foot cloaths, the number of the footmen being limited, to the dukes ten, to the earls eight, and to the viſcounts ſix, and the barons four, all richly clad, as their other ſervants were, the whole ſhew was the moſt glorious in the order and expence that had been ever ſeen in England; they who rode firſt being in fleet-ſtreet when the king iſſued out of the tower, as was known by the diſcharge of the ordnance and it was near three of the clock in the afternoon, when the king alighted at Whitehall: the next morning the king rode in the ſame ſtate in his robes and with his crown on his head, and all the lords in their robes to Weſtminſter-hall, where all the enſigns for the coronation were delivered to thoſe who were appointed to carry them, the earl of Northumberland being made high-conſtable, and the earl of Suffolk earl marſhal for the day, and then all the lords in their order, and the king himſelf walked on foot upon blue cloath from Weſtminſter-hall to the Abbey church, where the king after a ſermon preached by Dr. Morley (then biſhop of Worceſter) in Henry the VIIth's chappel, the king was ſworn, crowned and anointed by Dr. Juxon archbiſhop of Canterbury with all the ſolemnity that in thoſe caſes had been uſed; all which being done, the king returned in the ſame manner on foot to Weſtminſter-hall, which was adorned with rich hangings and ſtatues, and there the king dined, and the lords on the other ſide at tables provided for them, and all other ceremonies were performed with great order and magnificence: I ſhould not have enlarged thus much upon the ceremony of the coronation, it may

be not mentioned it (a perfect narration having been then made and publiſhed of it with all the grandeur and magnificence of the city of London) but that there were two accidents in it, the one abſolutely new, the other that produced ſome inconveniences, which were not then diſcerned: the firſt was, that it being the cuſtom in all thoſe great ceremonies or triumphs of ſtate, that the maſter of the king's horſe, (who is always a great man, and was now the duke of Albemarle the general) rides next after the king with a led horſe in his hand; in this occaſion the duke of York privately prevailed with the king, who had not enough reverence for old cuſtoms, without any conſultation, that his maſter of his horſe (ſo he was called) Mr. Jermyn, a younger brother of a very private gentleman's family, ſhould ride as near his perſon, as the general did to his majeſty and lead a horſe likewiſe in his hand, a thing never heard of before, neither in truth hath the younger brother of the king ſuch an officer, as maſter of the horſe, which is a term reſtrained within the family of the king, queen, and prince of Wales, and the two maſters of the horſe to the queen and prince, are ſubordinated to the king's maſter of his horſe, who hath the juriſdiction over the other; the lords were exceedingly ſurprized and troubled at this, of which they heard nothing, till they ſaw it, and they liked it the worſe, becauſe they diſcerned that it iſſued from a fountain, from whence many bitter waters were like to flow, the cuſtoms of the court of France, whereof the king and the duke had too much the image in their heads, and than which there could not be a copy more univerſally ungratefull and odious to the Engliſh nation. The other was, in the morning of the coronation, whilſt they ſat at the table in Weſtminſter-hall to ſee the many enſigns

of

of the coronation delivered to thoſe lords who were appointed to carry them, the earl of Northumberland, who was that day high-conſtable, came to the king and told him, that amongſt the young Noblemen, who were appointed to carry the ſeveral parts of the king's mantle, the lord Oſſory, who was the eldeſt ſon to the duke of Ormond, challenged the place before the lord Percy who was his eldeſt ſon whereas he ſaid the duke of Ormond had no place in the ceremony of that day, as duke, but only as earl of Brecnock, and ſo the eldeſt ſons of all antient earls ought to take place of his eldeſt ſon; which was ſo known a rule and of ſo general a concernment, that the king could not chuſe, but declared and ſent a meſſage to the lord Oſſory, by the lord chamberlain, that he ſhould deſiſt from his pretence. This and the publick manner of aſking and determining it produced two ill effects, the firſt, a jealouſy and ill underſtanding between the two great families, the one naturally condemning and undervaluing his equalls, without paying much regard to his ſuperiors, and the other not being uſed to be contemned by any, and well knowing that all the advantages the earl had in England, either in antiquity or fortune, he had the ſame in Ireland, and that he had merited and received an increaſe of title, when the other had deſerved to loſe that, which he was born to: the other was, a jealouſy and prejudice it raiſed in the nobility of England, as if the duke of Ormond (who in truth knew nothing of it) had entered upon that conteſt; in hope that by his intereſt in the king he ſhould be able to put this eternal affront upon the peers of England, as to bring them upon the ſame level with thoſe of Ireland, who had no ſuch eſteem: and it did not a little add to their envy, that he had behaved himſelf ſo

worthily

worthily throughout the ill times, that he was the object of a univerſal reverence at home and abroad, which was a reproach to moſt of them, whoſe actions would not bear the light, but as the duke was not in the leaſt degree privy to the particular conteſt, nor raiſed the value of himſelf from any merit in his ſervices, nor undervalued others upon the advantage of their having done amiſs, he was abundantly ſatisfied in the teſtimony of his own conſcience, and his unqueſtionable innocence, and from thence too much deſpiſed the prejudice and the envy the others had towards him, and the marks whereof he was compelled afterwards to bear, which he did with the ſame magnanimity.

Before we proceed further in relation to what was afterwards done, it will not be unſeaſonable in this place to give an account of ſomewhat that was not done, and which was generally expected to have been done, and as generally cenſured, becauſe it was not done; the reaſon whereof is known to very few: the king had reſolved before his coming into England, that as ſoon as he ſhould be ſettled in any condition of ſecurity, and no juſt apprehenſion of future troubles, that he would take up and remove the body of his father, the laſt king, from Windſor, and inter it with all ſolemnity at Weſtminſter, and that the court ſhould continue in mourning till the coronation, and many good people thought it ſo neceſſary, that they were much troubled that it was not done, and liked not the reaſons which were given, which made it appear that it had been conſidered; the reaſons which were given in publick diſcourſes from hand to hand were two, the firſt, that now ten years were paſt ſince that woefull tragedy, and the joy and triumph for the king's return had compoſed the minds of the people, it would not be prudent to renew the memory of that

parricide

parricide, by the ſpectacle of a ſolemn funeral, leaſt it might cauſe ſuch commotions of the vulgar in all places, as might produce great diſorders and inſurrections amongſt thoſe who had formerly ſerved the kingdom, as if it were a good ſeaſon and a new provocation to take revenge upon their neighbours, who had formerly tyranniſed over them, which might likewiſe have cauſed the ſoldiers, who were newly diſbanded to draw themſelves together for their own ſecurity, and ſo the peace would be at leaſt diſturbed: the other was, that to perform this interment in any private manner would be liable to very juſt cenſure, when all things relating to the king himſelf had ſhewed ſo magnificently; and if it were done with the natural pomp of a ſolemn interment of a king, the expence would be ſo vaſt, that there would be neither money found, or credit for the charge thereof. Theſe were the reaſons, alledged and ſpread abroad, nor was either of them in itſelf without weight to thinking men; but the true reaſon was, at the time of that horrid murder, Windſor was a garriſon under the command of a citizen, who was an Anababtiſt, with all his officers and ſoldiers, the men had broken down all the wainſcot, rails and partitions which divided the church, defaced all the monuments and other marks, and reduced the whole into the form of a ſtable or barn, and ſcarce fit for any other uſe, when Cromwell had declared that the royal body ſhould be privately interred in the church of the caſtle at Windſor, and the marquis of Hertford, the duke of Richmond, the earls of Southampton and Lindſey had obtained leave to be preſent, (only to be preſent, for they had no power to prepare, or do any thing it,) at their maſter's burial; theſe great men were not ſuffered to have above three ſervants each to enter into the caſtle with them, and it

may

may eaſily be concluded that their own noble hearts were too full of ſorrow to ſend their eyes abroad to take notice of the places by which they paſſed, they found the church ſo wild a place, they knew not where they were, and as the royal body was put into ground, they were conducted out of the caſtle to their lodgings in the town, and the next morning returned to their ſeveral houſes: ſhortly after the king returned from beyond the ſeas, he ſettled the dean and chapter of Windſor, with direction to put his royal chappel there into the order it uſed to be, and to repair the ruins thereof, which was a long and difficult work, his majeſty commanded the dean carefully to inform himſelf of the place, in which the king's body had been interred, and to give him notice of it; upon enquiry he could not find one perſon in the caſtle or in the town, who had been preſent at the burial; when the parliament firſt ſeized upon the caſtle, and put a garriſon into it, ſhortly after, they had not only rejected all the prebends and ſinging men of the royal chapple, but had turned out all the officers and ſervants who had any relation to the king or the church, except only thoſe who were notorious for their infidelity towards the king or the church, and of thoſe or of the officers or ſoldiers of the garriſon there could not now one man be found, who was in the church, when the king was buried: the duke of Richmond and the marquis of Hertford were both dead, and the king ſent (after he had received that account from the dean) the two ſurviving lords, the earls of Southampton and Lindſey to Windſor, who taking with them as many of thoſe three ſervants, who had been admitted to attend them, as were now living, they could not recollect their memories, nor find any one mark, by which they could

make any judgement near what place the king's body lay; they made ſome gueſs by the information of the workmen, who had been now employed in the new pavement of the church, and upon their obſervation that the earth had ſeemed to lye lighter there, that it might be in or near that place, but when they had cauſed it to be digged, and ſearched over about it, they found nothing, and upon their return, the king gave all further thought of enquiry, and thoſe other reaſons were caſt abroad upon any occaſional enquiry or diſcourſe of that ſubject.

That which gave the king moſt trouble, and deprived him of that eaſe and quiet which he had promiſed to himſelf during the vacation between the two parliaments, was the buſineſs of Ireland, which we ſhall now take up again, and continue the relation without interruption, as long as we ſhall think fit to make any mention of that affair: we left it in the hands of the lord Robarts, whom the king had declared lord deputy of Ireland, preſuming, that he would upon conference with the ſeveral parties, who were all appointed to attend him, to ſhape, and model the whole bulk that it might be more capable of ſome further debate before his majeſty in council, but that hand did not hold it many days; that noble lord tho' of a good underſtanding, was of ſo moroſe a nature, that it was no eaſy matter to treat with him, he had ſome pedantick parts of learning, which made his other parts of judgement the worſe, for he had ſome parts of good knowledge in the law, and in antiquity in the precedents of former times all which were rendered the leſs uſeful by the other pedantry contracted out of ſomebooks, and out of the ill converſation he had had with ſome clergymen and people in quality much below him, by whoſe weak faculties he raiſed

ſed the value of his own, which were very capable of being improved in better company, he was naturally proud and imperious, which humour was increaſed by an ill education, for exempting ſome years ſpent in the inns of court amongſt the books of the law, he might be very juſtly ſaid to have been born and bred in Cornwall: there were many days paſſed after the king's declaration of him to be deputy, before he could be perſuaded to viſit the general, who he knew was to continue lieutenant, and when he did viſit him, it was with ſo ill a grace, that the other received no ſatisfaction in it, and the leſs becauſe he plainly diſcerned, that it proceeded from pride, which he bore the more uneaſily, becauſe as he was now the greater man, ſo he knew himſelf to be of a much better family, he made ſo many doubts and criticiſms upon the draught of his patent, that the attorney general was weary of attending him, and when all things were agreed on at night, the next morning he produced new dilemmas; but that which was worſe than all this, he received thoſe of the Iriſh nation, of the beſt quality, who were of the privy-council and chief command in that kingdom ſo ſuperciliouſly, received their information ſo negligently, and gave his anſwers ſo ſcornfully, that after they had waited upon him four or five days, they beſought the king that they might not be obliged to attend him any more, and it was evident that his carriage towards them was not to be ſubmitted to, by perſons of his own quality, or of any liberal education, nor did he make any advance towards the buſineſs. This gave the king very great trouble, and them as much pleaſure who had never liked the deſignation, he knew not what to do with his deputy, nor what to do for Ireland; the lord Robarts was a man not to be diſgraced and thrown

off without much inconvenience and hazard, he had parties within council and parliament (which were the two ſcenes where all the king's buſineſs was) which were very troubleſome, for of all men alive who had ſo few friends, he had the moſt followers, they who converſed moſt with him, knew him to have many humours which were very intolerable, they who were but a little acquainted with him, took him to be a man of much knowledge, and called his moroſity gravity, and thought the ſeverity of his manners made him leſs grateful to the courtiers, he had no ſuch advantageous faculties in his delivery, as could impoſe upon his auditors, but he was never tedious, and his words made impreſſion; in a word he was ſuch a man as the king thought worthy to be compounded with, and therefore his majeſty appointed the lord chancellor and the lord treaſurer to confer with him, and to diſpoſe him to accept the office of privy-ſeal, which gave him a great precedence, that would gratify that paſſion which was ſtrongeſt in him, for in his nature he preferred place before money, which his fortune ſtood more in need of, and the king thought it would be no ill argument to incline him to give over the thought of Ireland, that it was impoſſible for the king to ſupply him for the preſent with near any ſuch ſum of money, as he had very reaſonably demanded for the ſatisfaction of the army there, which was upon the matter to be new modelled, and ſome part of it diſbanded, with the reduction of many officers, and for his own equipage; they began their approach to him by aſking him when he would be ready for his journey to Ireland, to which he anſwered with ſome quickneſs, that he was confident there was no purpoſe to ſend him thither, for that he ſaw there was no preparation,

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of thoſe things without which the king knew well that it was not poſſible for him to go, nor had his majeſty lately ſpoken to him of it; beſides he had obſerved that the chancellor had for many days paſt called him at the council, and in all other places where they met, by the name of lord Robarts, whereas for ſome months before he had upon all occaſions and in all places treated him with the ſtyle of lord deputy, which gave him firſt cauſe to believe that there was ſome alteration in the purpoſe of ſending him thither: they both aſſured him, that the king had no other perſon in his view but himſelf for that ſervice, if he were diſpoſed to undertake it vigorouſly, but that the king had forborn lately to ſpeak with him of it, becauſe he found it impoſſible for him to provide the money he propoſed, and it could not be denied that he had propoſed it very reaſonably in all reſpects; however it being impoſſible to procure it, and that he could not go without it, for which he could not be blamed, his majeſty muſt find ſome other expedient to ſend his authority thither, the government there being yet ſo looſe, that he could not but every day expect to receive news of ſome great diſorder there, the ill conſequence whereof would be imputed to his majeſty's want of care and providence; that his majeſty had yet forborn to think of that expedient, till he might do it with his conſent and advice, and untill he could reſolve upon another poſt, where he might ſerve his majeſty with equal honour, and by which the world might ſee the eſteem he had of him, and therefore ſince it would be both unreaſonable and unjuſt to preſs him to go for Ireland without thoſe ſupplies, and it was equally impoſſible to prepare and ſend thoſe ſupplies, they ſaid the king had commanded them to propoſe to him, that

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he would make him lord privy-ſeal, an office he well underſtood, and if he accepted that and were poſſeſſed of it (as he ſhould immediately be) his majeſty would enter upon new conſiderations how to ſettle the tottering condition of Ireland; the lord's dark countenance preſently cleared up, as having no doubt expected to be deprived of his title to Ireland, without being aſſigned any other any where elſe, and now being offered the third place of precedence in the nobility, the privy-ſeal going next to the treaſurer upon a very ſhort recollection, he declared that he received it as a great honour that the king would make uſe of his ſervice in any place, and that he ſubmitted wholly to his good pleaſure, and would ſerve him with great fidelity: the next day the king gave him the privy-ſeal at the council board, where he was ſworn and took his place, and to ſhew his extraordinary talent, found a way more to obſtruct and puzzle buſineſs, at leaſt the diſpatch of it, than any man in that office had ever done before, inſomuch as the king found himſelf compelled in a ſhort time after to give order that moſt grants and patents which required haſte, ſhould paſs by immediate warrant to the great ſeal without viſiting the privy-ſeal, which pretention was not uſual, and brought ſome inconvenience and prejudice to the chancellor.

Tho' the king had within himſelf a proſpect of the expedient that would be fitteſt for him to make uſe of for the preſent towards the ſettlement of Ireland, yet it was abſolutely neceſſary for him even before he could make uſe of that expedient to put the ſeveral claims and petitions of right, which were depending before him, and which were attended with ſuch an unruly number of ſuitors, into ſome method of examining and determining,

that

that they might not be left in the confuſion they were then in, and this could not be done without his impoſing upon himſelf the trouble of hearing once at large all that every party of the pretenders could alledge for the ſupport of their ſeveral pretences, and this he did with incredible patience for many days together: we ſhall firſt mention thoſe inſtances which gave the king leaſt trouble, becauſe they admitted leaſt debate; it was looked upon as very ſcandalous that the marquis of Ormonde ſhould remain ſo long without the poſſeſſion of any part of his eſtate, which had been taken from him upon no other pretence, but his adhering to the king, and therefore there was an act of parliament paſſed with the conſent of all parties, that he ſhould be preſently reſtored to all his eſtate, which was done with the more eaſe becauſe the greateſt part of it (for his wives land had been before aſſigned to her in Cromwell's time or rather in his ſon Harry's) lay within the province which Cromwell out of his huſbandry had reſerved for himſelf, exempt from all title or pretence of adventurer or ſoldier; what other part of his eſtate either the one or the other were poſſeſſed of, in their own judgement was ſo impoſſible for them to enjoy, that they very willing yielded it up to the marquis in hope of having recompence made to them out of other lands; there could be as little ſaid againſt the reſtoration of the earl of Inchiquin to his eſtate, which had been taken from him and diſtributed amongſt the adventurers and ſoldiers for no other cauſe but his ſerving the king; there were likewiſe ſome others of the ſame claſſis, who had nothing objected to them but their loyalty, who were put into the poſſeſſion of their own eſtates, and all this gave no occaſion of murmure, every man, of what intereſt ſoever, believing or

pretending

pretending to believe, that the king was obliged in honour, juſtice and conſcience to cauſe that right to be done to thoſe, who ſerved him faithfully: there could be as little doubt, and there was as little oppoſition viſible in the claim of the church, ſo that the king made choice of many grave divines, to whom he aſſigned biſhopricks in Ireland, and ſent them thither to be conſecrated by the biſhops, who remained alive there, according to the laws of that kingdom, and conferred the other dignities, and church preferments upon worthy men, who were all authoriſed to enter upon thoſe lands, which belonged to their ſeveral churches, and in this general zeal for the church ſome new grants were made of lands and impropriations which were not enough deliberated, and gave afterwards great interruption to the ſettlement of the kingdom, and brought envy upon the church and churchmen, when the reſtoration to what was their own was generally well approved; the pretences of the adventurers and ſoldiers were very much involved and perplexed, yet they gave the king little other trouble, than the general care and ſolicitude, that by an unſeaſonable diſturbance of their poſſeſſions there the ſoldiers who had been diſbanded, and thoſe of the army ſtanding, who for the moſt part had the ſame ill affections, might not unite together and ſeize upon ſome places of defence, before his affairs in that kingdom ſhould be put into ſuch an order, as to oppoſe them; and next to that apprehenſion, his majeſty had no mind that any of thoſe ſoldiers, who had been diſbanded, and put into poſſeſſion of lands for the arrears of their pay, and upon which they now lived, or of the other the ſtanding army, many whereof were likewiſe in poſſeſſion of lands aſſigned to them, I ſay, the king was not without apprehenſion

henſion that the reſort of either of theſe into England, might find too many of their old friends and aſſociates ready to concur with them in any deſperate undertaking, and for controuling which he was enough provided even in this kingdom; but for their private and particular intereſt, the king cared not much how it was compounded, nor conſidered the danger if it were not compounded, for beſides the factions, diviſions and animoſities, which was between themſelves, and very great, they could have no cauſe of complaint againſt the king, who would take nothing from them, to which they had the leaſt pretence of law or right, and for their other demands he would have them to litigate between themſelves, it being evident to all men, that there muſt be ſome judicatory erected by act of parliament that could only examine and put an end to all thoſe pretences; and the peruſal and examination of which act of parliament when the ſame ſhould be prepared, his majeſty reſolved that all parties ſhould have; and that he would hear the particular exceptions to it, before he would tranſmit it into Ireland to be paſſed. That which gave the king the only trouble and ſolicitude was, the miſerable condition of the Iriſh nation, that was ſo near an extirpation, the thought whereof his majeſty's heart obhored, nor can it be denied, that either from the indignation he had againſt thoſe, in whoſe favour the other poor people were miſerably deſtroyed, or from his own natural compaſſion and tenderneſs, and the juſt regard of the merit of many of them, who had ſerved him with fidelity, he had a very ſtrong and princely inclination to do the beſt he could, without doing apparent injuſtice, to preſerve them in a tolerable condition of ſubjects. This made him give them, who were moſt concerned and ſolicitous on their behalf, liberty to reſort to his pre-

ſence, and to hear all they could alledge for themſelves, in private or in publick; and this indulgence proved to their diſadvantage, and exalted them ſo much, that when they were heard in publick at the board, they behaved themſelves with leſs modeſty towards their adverſaries, who ſtood upon the advantage ground, and with leſs reverence in preſence of the king, than the truth of their condition, and any ordinary diſcretion would have required; and their diſadvantage was the greater, becauſe they who ſpake publickly on their behalfs, and were very well qualified to ſpeak, and left nothing for the matter unſaid that was for the purpoſe, were men, who from the beginning to the end of the rebellion, had behaved themſelves eminently ill towards the king, and they of their adverſaries, who ſpake againſt them, had great knowledge and experience of all that had paſſed on either ſide, and knew how to preſs it home, when it was ſeaſonable.

They of the Iriſh who were all united under the name of the confederate Catholicks of Ireland, made their firſt approach wiſely for compaſſion, and urged their great and long ſufferings, the loſs of their eſtates for five or ſix and twenty years, the waſting and ſpending of the whole nation in battles, and tranſportation of vaſt multitudes of men into the parts beyond the ſeas, whereof many had the honour to teſtify their fidelity to the king by real ſervices, and many of them returned into England with him, and were ſtill in his ſervice; the great numbers of men, women and children that had been maſſacred and executed in cold blood, after the king's government had been driven from thence, the multitudes that had been deſtroyed by famine and the plague, thoſe two heavy judgements having raged over the kingdom for two or three years and at laſt as a perſe-

perſecution unheard of the tranſplanting the ſmall remainder of the nation into one corner of the province of Connaught, where yet much of the lands was taken from them, which had been aſſigned with all thoſe formalities of law, which were in uſe and practice under that government. 2dly, they demanded the benefit of two treaties of peace, the one in the late king's time and confirmed by him, the other confirmed by his majeſty who was preſent, by both which they ſaid they ſtood indemnified for all acts done by them in the rebellion, and inſiſted upon their innocence ſince that time, and that they had paid ſo intire an obedience to his majeſty's commands, whilſt he was beyond the ſeas, that they betook themſelves to and withdrew themſelves from the ſervice of France or Spain in ſuch a manner as his majeſty ſignified his pleaſure was they ſhould do: and if they had ended here, they would have done wiſely, but whether it was the obſervation they made that what they had ſaid, made impreſſion upon his majeſty and many of the lords or whether it was their evil genius that tranſported them naturally to actions of ſtrange ſottiſhneſs and indiſcretion, they urged and inferred with more liberty than became them in that conjuncture, the unworthineſs and incapacity of thoſe, who for ſo many years had poſſeſſed themſelves of their eſtates, and ſought now a confirmation of their rebellious title from his majeſty. 3dly, that their rebellion had been more infamous and of greater magnitude than that of the Iriſh, who had riſen in arms to free themſelves from the rigour and ſeverity that was exerciſed upon them by ſome of the king's miniſters, and for the liberty of their conſciences and practice of their religion, without having the leaſt intention or thought of withdrawing themſelves from his majeſty's obe-

dience, or declining his government, whereas the others had carried on odious rebellion againſt the king's ſacred perſon, whom they had horridly murdered in the ſight of the ſun, with all imaginable circumſtances of contempt and defiance, and as much as in them lay, had rooted out monarchy itſelf, and deſtroyed the whole government of church and ſtate; and therefore that whatever puniſhment the poor Iriſh had deſerved for their former tranſgreſſions, which they had ſo long repented of, and departed from the rebellion, when they had armies and ſtrong towns in their hands, which they together with themſelves had put again under his majeſty's protection, whereas this part of the Engliſh, who were poſſeſſed of their eſtates had broken all their obligations to God and the king, and ſo could nor merit to be gratified with their ruin and total deſtruction. That it was too evident and notorious to the world, that his majeſty's three kingdoms had been very faulty to him, and yet that upon their return to their duty and obedience, he had been graciouſly pleaſed to grant a free and general pardon, and act of indemnity, in which many were comprehended, who in truth had been the contrivers and fomenters of all the miſery and deſolation which had involved the three nations for ſo many years, and therefore that they hoped, that when all his majeſty's other ſubjects (as criminal at leaſt as they were) were by his majeſty's clemency reſtored to their own eſtates, which they had forfeited, and were in full peace, mirth and joy, the poor Iriſh alone ſhould not be totally exempted from all his majeſty's grace, and left in tears and mourning and lamentation, and be ſacrificed without redemption to the avarice and cruelty of thoſe, who had not only ſpoiled and oppreſſed them, but had done all that was in their power, and with all the in-

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ſolence imaginable to deſtroy the king himſelf, and his poſterity, and who now returned to their obedience and had ſubmitted to his government, when they were no longer able to oppoſe it, nor did they yet return to it with that alacrity and joy and reſignation, as the Iriſh did, but inſiſted obſtinately upon demands unreaſonable, and which they hoped could not conſiſt with his majeſty's honour to grant; and ſo concluded with thoſe pathetical applications and appeals to the king, as men well verſed in diſcourſes of that nature are accuſtomed to. This diſcourſe carried on and urged with more paſſion vehemence and indiſcretion than was ſuitable to the condition they were in, and in which by the exceſſes of their rhetorick they had let fall many expreſſions very indecent and unwarrantable, and in ſome of them confidently excuſed, if not juſtified their firſt entrance into rebellion (the moſt barbarous certainly and inexcuſable, that any chriſtians have been engaged in, in any age) irreconciled many to them, who had compaſſion enough for them, and made it impoſſible for the king to reſtrain their adverſaries, who were prepared to anſwer all they had ſaid, from uſing the ſame licence. They enlarged upon all the odious circumſtances of the firſt year's rebellion, the murdering of above a hundred thouſand perſons in cold blood, and with all the barbarity imaginable, which murders and barbarities had been always excepted from pardon, and they told them that if there were not ſome among themſelves, who then appeared before his majeſty they were ſure there would be found many amongſt thoſe for whom they appeared, who would be found guilty of thoſe odious crimes, which were excluded from any benefit by thoſe treaties; they took notice how confidently they had extolled their own innocence from the time

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that thoſe two acts of pacification had paſſed, and their great affection for his majeſty's ſervice; and thereupon they declared, that whatſoever legal title the adventurers had to the lands of which they were poſſeſſed, many of whom had conſtantly ſerved the king, yet they would be contented that all thoſe, who in truth had preſerved their integrity towards his majeſty from the time of either if not of both the pacifications, and not ſwerved afterwards from their allegiance, ſhould partake of his royal bounty in ſuch a manner and to ſuch a degree, as his majeſty thought fit to excerciſe towards them, but they ſaid, they would make it appear that their pretences to that grace and favour, were not founded upon any reaſonable title, that they had never conſented to any one act of pacification, to which the promiſe of indemnity had been annexed, which they had not violated and broken within ten days after, and then returned to all the acts of diſloyalty and rebellion. That after the firſt act of pacification ratified by the laſt king, in very few days after they treated the Herald his majeſty's officer, who came to proclaim that peace, with all manner of indignity, tearing his coat of arms (the king's arms) from his back, and beat and wounded him, ſo that he was hardly reſcued from the loſs of his life; that about the ſame time they endeavoured to ſurprize and murder the lord lieutenant, and purſued him to Dublin, which they forthwith beſieged with their army under the command of that general, who had ſigned the peace; they impriſoned their commiſſioners who were authorized by them, for conſenting to theſe articles, which themſelves had confirmed; and ſo proſecuted the war with as much aſperity as ever, and refuſed to give that aid and aſſiſtance they were obliged to for the recovery and reſtoration of

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his late majeſty, the promiſe and expectation of which ſupply was the ſole ground and conſideration of that treaty, and of the conceſſions therein made to them: that they thereupon more formally renounced their obedience to the king, and put themſelves under the protection and diſpoſal of Rinuccini the pope's nuncio, whom they made their generaliſſimo of all their armies, their admiral at ſea, and to preſide in all their councils; after their diviſions amongſt themſelves, and the burthen of the tyranny they ſuffered under, had diſpoſed them to petition his majeſty that now is, who was then in France, to receive them into his protection, and to ſend the marquis of Ormonde over again into Ireland to command them, and his majeſty was ſo far prevailed with, as that he ſent the marquis of Ormonde into Munſter with ſuch a ſupply of arms and ammunition as he could get, where the lord Inchiquin, lord preſident of that province received him with the proteſtant army and joined with him, and ſhortly the confederate Iriſh made that ſecond treaty of pacification, of which they now demanded the benefit; but that it was notoriouſly known, that they no ſooner made that treaty, than they broke it, in not bringing in thoſe ſupplies of men and money, which they ought and were obliged to do, and the want whereof expoſed the lieutenant to many difficulties, and was in truth the cauſe of the misfortune before Dublin, which he had no ſooner undergone, than they withdrew from taking any further care of the kingdom, raiſed ſcandals upon and jealouſies of the whole body of the Engliſh, who being ſo provoked could no longer venture themſelves in any action or conjunction with the Iriſh, without more apprehenſion of them than of the common enemy.

Inſtead

Inſtead of endeavouring to compoſe, theſe jealouſies and ill humours, they cauſed an aſſembly or convention of their clergy to meet without the lord lieutenant's authority, and put the government of all things into their hands, who in a ſhort time improved the jealouſies in the mind of the people towards the few Proteſtants, who yet remained in the army, and who had ſerved the king with all imaginable courage and fidelity from the very firſt hour of the rebellion, to that degree that the marquis was even compelled to diſcharge his own troop of guards of horſe conſiſting of ſuch officers and gentlemen, as are mentioned before, and to truſt himſelf and all the remaining towns and garriſons to the fidelity of the Iriſh, they proteſting with much ſolemnity, that upon ſuch a confidence the whole nation would be united as one man to his majeſty's ſervice under his command, but they had no ſooner received ſatisfaction in that particular (which was not in the marquis's power to refuſe to give them) but they raiſed ſeveral calumnies againſt his perſon, declaimed againſt his religion, and inhibited the people upon pain of excommunication to ſubmit to this and that order, that was iſſued out by the marquis, and without obeying whereof, the army could not ſtay together, and upon the matter forbad the people to pay any obedience to him: inſtead of raiſing new forces according to their juſt promiſe and ingagement, thoſe that were raiſed, ran from their colours, and diſperſed themſelves; they who were truſted with the keeping of towns and forts, either gave them up by treaty to Cromwell, or loſt them through cowardice to him upon very feeble attacks: their general Owen Oneale had made a formal contract and ſtipulation with the parliament, and in the end, when they had diveſted the lord lieutenant of all

power

power to oppoſe the enemy, and gave him great cauſe to believe that his perſon was in danger to be betrayed and delivered up to the enemy, they vouchſafed to petition him, that he would depart out of the kimgdom, (to the neceſſity whereof they had even already compelled him) and that he would leave his majeſty's authority in the hands of one of his Catholick ſubjects, to whom they promiſed to ſubmit with the moſt punctual obedience; hereupon the marquis, when he found he could not unite them in any one action worthy the duty of good ſubjects or of prudent men, towards their own preſervation, and ſo that his reſidence amongſt them longer could in no degree contribute to his majeſty's ſervice or honour, and that they would make it to be believed, that if he would have quitted the command into the hands of a Roman Catholick, they would have been able to preſerve thoſe towns, which ſtill remained in their poſſeſſion, which were Limerick and Gallway, and ſome other places of importance enough, tho' of leſs than thoſe cities, and that they would likewiſe by degrees recover from the enemy what had been loſt; which indeed was very poſſible for them to have done, ſince they had great bodies of men to perform any enterprize, and ſome good officers to lead them, if they would have been obedient to any command; whereupon the marquis reſolved to gratify them, and to place the command in the hands of ſuch a perſon, whoſe zeal for the Catholick religion was unqueſtionable, and whoſe fidelity to the king as unblemiſhed, and ſo he made choice of the marquis of Clanrickard, a gentleman, tho' originally of Engliſh extraction, whoſe family had for ſo many hundred years reſided in that kingdom, that he was looked upon as being of the beſt family of the Iriſh, and whoſe family had in

all former rebellions as well as in this laſt, preſerved it's loyalty to the crown not only unſpotted, but eminently conſpicuous: the Roman Catholicks of all kinds pretended at leaſt a wonderful ſatisfaction and joy in this election, acknowledged as a great obligation upon them and their poſterity to the lord lieutenant for making ſo worthy a choice, and applied themſelves to the marquis of Clanricard with all the proteſtations of duty and ſubmiſſion to induce him to accept the charge and command over them, who indeed knew them too well to be willing to truſt them, or to have any thing to do with them, yet upon the marquis of Ormonde's earneſt and ſolemn intreaty, as the laſt and only remedy to keep and retain ſome remainder of hope, from whence future hopes might grow, whereas all other thoughts were deſperate, and the kingdom would preſently fall into the hands and poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, who would extirpate the whole nation. This importunity and his great zeal for the ſervice of the crown, and to ſupport the government there, untill his majeſty could procure ſupplies, which the marquis of Ormonde promiſed to ſolicit in France, or till his majeſty ſhould ſend better orders to preſerve his authority in that kingdom, the hope of which ſeemed the leſs deſperate, becauſe they had notice at the ſame time of his march into England with an army from Scotland, prevailed with him, ſo that he was contented to receive ſuch commiſſions from the lord lieutenant as were neceſſary for the execution of the preſent command, upon which the lord lieutenant embarked himſelf with ſome few friends and ſervants upon a little rotten pink, that was bound for France, and very ill accommodated for ſuch a voyage, being not to be perſuaded to ſend to the commander in chief of the Engliſh for a paſs, tho' he was

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assured that it would very readily have been granted; but it pleased God that he arrived safely in France, a little before or about the time, that the king transported himself after his miraculous escape from Worcester.

The marquis of Ormonde was no sooner gone out of Ireland, but the lord marquis of Clanrickard, then lord deputy found himself no better treated, than the lord of Ormonde had been; that part of the clergy, which had continually opposed the lord lieutenant for being a Protestant, were now as little satisfied with the deputy's religion, and as violently contradicted all his commands and desires, and violated all their own promises, and quickly made it evident, that his affection and loyalty to the king was that, which they disliked, and a crime that could not be ballanced by the undoubted sincerity of his religion; they entered into secret correspondence with the enemy, and conspiracies between themselves, and tho' there were some persons of honour and quality with the deputy, who were very faithfull to him and to the king, yet there were so many of another allay, that all his councils, resolutions and designs were discovered to the enemy soon enough to be prevented, and tho' some of the letters were intercepted, and the persons discovered who gave the intelligence, he had not power to bring them to justice, but being commonly Friars and clergymen, the priviledge of the church was insisted upon, and so they were rescued from the secular prosecution, till their escape was contrived; that perfidious and treacherous party had so great an interest in all the towns, forts and garrisons, which yet pretended to be subject to the deputy, that all his orders were still contradicted or neglected, and the enemy no sooner appeared before any place, but some faction in the town caused it

to be given up and rendered, nor could this fatal ſottiſhneſs be reformed even by the ſeverity and rigour, which the Engliſh exerciſed upon them, who by the wonderful judgement of God almighty always put thoſe men to death, who put themſelves and thoſe towns into their hands, finding ſtill that they had ſome barbarous part in the foul murders which had been committed in the beginning of the rebellion, and who had been by all the acts of grace, granted by the ſeveral powers ſtill reſerved for juſtice; and of this kind there would be ſo many inſtances in and about Limerick and Gallway, that they deſerve to be collected, and mentioned in a diſcourſe by itſelf, to obſerve and magnify the wonderful providence of God almighty in bringing heinous crimes to light and puniſhment in this world, by means unapprehended by the guilty, inſomuch as it can hardly be believed, how many of the clergy and the laity, who had a ſignal hand in contriving and fomenting the firſt rebellion, and in the perpetration of thoſe horrible murders, and who had obſtructed all overtures towards peace, and principally cauſed any peace that was made to be preſently broken, who had with moſt paſſion adhered to the nuncio, and endeavoured moſt maliciouſly to exclude the king, and his poſterity from the dominion of Ireland: I ſay, it can hardly be believed, how many of theſe moſt notorious tranſgreſſors did by ſome act of treachery endeavour to merit favour from the Engliſh rebels, and ſo put themſelves into their hands and were by them publickly and reproachfully put to death: this being the ſad condition the deputy was in, and the Iriſh having without his leave, and againſt his expreſs commands taken upon them to ſend meſſengers into Flanders, to deſire the duke of Lorrain to take them into his protection, and offered to deliver ſeveral

important

important places and ſea towns into his poſſeſſion, and to become his ſubjects; upon which the duke ſent over an embaſſador with a good ſum of money for their preſent relief, the deputy was in a ſhort time reduced to thoſe ſtreights, that he durſt not remain in any town, nor even in his own houſe three days together, but was forced for his ſafety to ſhift from place to place, and ſometimes to lodge in the woods and fields in cold and wet nights, by which he contracted thoſe infirmities and diſeaſes, which ſhortly after brought him to his grave, and in the end he was compelled to accept a paſs from the Engliſh, who had a reverence for his perſon, and his unſpotted reputation, to tranſport himſelf into England, where his wife and family were, and where he died, before he could procure means to carry himſelf to the king, which he always intended to do. When the commiſſioners had enlarged with ſome commotion in this narration and diſcourſe, they again provoked the Iriſh commiſſioners to nominate one perſon among themſelves, or of thoſe for whom they appeared, who they believed could in juſtice demand his majeſty's favour, and if they did not make it evidently appear, that he had forfeited all his title to pardon after the treaties, and that he had been again as faulty to the king as before, they were very willing he ſhould be reſtored to his eſtate, and then applying themſelves to his majeſty with great duty and ſubmiſſion they concluded, that if any perſons had by their ſubſequent ſervice, or by their attendance upon his majeſty beyond the ſeas, rendered themſelves gratefull to him, and worthy of his royal favour, they were very willing, that his majeſty ſhould reſtore all or any of them to their honours or eſtates, in ſuch manner as his Majeſty thought fit, and againſt all impediments whatſoever;

ſoever; and upon this ſtrank offer of theirs, which his majeſty took very well, ſeveral acts of parliament were preſently paſſed for the indemnity and the reſtoring many perſons of honour and intereſt to their eſtates, who could either in juſtice require it, as having been faithful always to the king, and ſuffered with him or for him, or who had ſo far manifeſted their duty and affection for his majeſty, that he thought fit in that conſideration to wipe out the memory of whatſoever had been formerly done amiſs, and by this means many were put into a full poſſeſſion of their eſtates, to which they could make any good pretence, at the time when the rebellion begun: this conſideration and debate upon the ſettlement of this unhappy kingdom took up many days, the king being always preſent, and in which there aroſe every day new difficulties, and it appeared plainly enough, that the guilt was ſo general, that if the letter of the act of parliament of the ſeventeenth year of the late king were ſtrictly purſued, as poſſibly it might have been, if the reduction had fallen out likewiſe during the whole reign of the king, even an utter extirpation of the nation would have followed: there were three particulars, which upon the firſt mention and view of them ſeemed in moſt men's eyes worthy of his majeſty's extraordinary compaſſion and interpoſition, and yet upon a ſtricter examination were found as remedileſs as any of the reſt; one was the condition of that miſerable people, which was likewiſe very numerous, that was tranſplanted into Connaught, who had been removed from their own poſſeſſions in other provinces, with ſuch circumſtances of tyranny and cruelty, that their own conſents obtained afterwards with that force, could not reaſonably be thought any confirmation of their unjuſt title, who were in poſ-

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ſeſſion of their lands; to this it was anſwered, that tho' it was acted in an irregular manner, and without lawful authority, it being in a time of uſurpation, yet that the act itſelf was very prudent and neceſſary, and an act of mercy, without which an utter extirpation of the nation muſt have followed, if the kingdom were to be preſerved in peace; that it cannot be denied to be an act of mercy, ſince there was not one man tranſplanted, who had not by the law forfeited all the eſtate he had, and his life might have been as legally taken from him, ſo that both his life, and whatever eſtate he had granted him in Connaught was from the pure bounty of the ſtate, which might and did by the act of parliament ſeize upon the ſame; that beſides the unſteady humour of that people, and their natural inclination to rebel, it was notorious, that whilſt they were diſperſed over the kingdom, tho' all their forces had been ſo totally ſubdued, that there was not throughout the whole kingdom a viſible number of twenty men together, who pretended to be in arms, yet there were daily ſuch diſorders committed by theſts, and robberies, and murders, that they could not be ſaid to be in peace, nor could the Engliſh, man, woman or child go one mile from their habitation upon their neceſſary employment, but they were found murdered, and ſtripped by the Iriſh, who lay in wait for thoſe purpoſes, ſo that the people were very hardly reſtrained from committing a maſſacre upon them, wherever they were met, ſo that there appeared no other way to prevent an utter extirpation of them, but to confine and reſtrain them within ſuch limits and bounds that might keep them from doing miſchief, and thereby make them ſafe, that thereupon this expedient, was laid hold on, and whereas they had nothing to live upon in the places where they

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were diſperſed, they had now by this tranſplantation into Connaught lands given them, ſufficient with their induſtry, to live well upon, of which there was good evidence by their having lived well there ſince that time, and many of them much better than they had ever done before; and the ſtate, which had done this grace for them, had great reaſon, when it gave them good titles to the lands aſſigned to them, which might plead in any court of juſtice, to require from them releaſes of what they had forfeited, which tho' to the publick of no uſe or validity, was of benefit and behoveful to many particular perſons for the quieting their poſſeſſions againſt frivolous ſuits and claims, which might ſtart up: that this tranſplantation had been acted, finiſhed and ſubmitted to by all parties, who had enjoyed the benefit thereof quietly and without diſturbance many years before the king's return, and the ſoldiers and adventurers had been likewiſe ſo many years in the poſſeſſion of their lots in purſuance of the act of parliament, and had laid out ſo much money in building and planting, that the conſequence of ſuch an alteration as was now propoſed, would be the higheſt confuſion imaginable, and it cannot be denied that if the king could have thought it ſafe and ſeaſonable to have reviewed all that had been done, and taken thoſe advantages upon former miſcarriages and miſapplications, as according to the ſtrictneſs of that very law he might have done, the whole foundation upon which all the hopes reſted of preſerving that kingdom within the obedience to the crown of England, muſt have been ſhaken and even diſſolved, with no ſmall influence and impreſſion upon the peace or quiet of England itſelf; for the memory of the beginning of the rebellion in Ireland (how many other rebellions ſoever had followed as bad, or

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worſe in reſpect of the conſequences that attended them, was as freſh and as odious to the whole people of England, as it had been the firſt year, and tho' no man durſt aver ſo unchriſtian a wiſh as an extirpation of them, (which they would have been very well contented with) yet no man diſſembled his opinion, that it was the only ſecurity the Engliſh could have in that kingdom, that the Iriſh ſhould be kept ſo low, that they ſhould have no power to hurt them.

Another particular, that ſeemed more againſt the foundation of juſtice, was, that the ſoldiers and adventurers expected and promiſed themſelves, that in this new ſettlement that was under debate, all intails and ſettlements at law ſhould be deſtroyed, whether upon conſideration of marriage or any other contracts, which had been made before the rebellion, nor had there been in the whole former proceedings in the time of the uſurpation, any notice taken of mortgages, or debts due by ſtatute or recognizance, or upon any other ſecurity, ſo that all ſuch debts muſt be either loſt to the proprietors, or remain ſtill with the intereſt upon the land, whoever had the benefit or profits thereof; all which ſeemed to his majeſty very unreaſonable and unjuſt, and that ſuch eſtates ſhould remain forfeited by the treaſon of the father, who had been only tenant for life, againſt all deſcents and legal titles of innocent children, and of which in all legal attainders the crown never had or could receive any benefit; yet how unreaſonable ſoever theſe pretences ſeemed to be, it was no eaſy matter to give rules and directions for the remedy of the miſchief, without introducing another miſchief equally unjuſt and unreaſonable; for the commiſſioners declared, that if ſuch titles, as are mentioned, were preſerved and allowed to be

good, there would not in that univerſal guilt, which upon the matter comprehended and covered the whole Iriſh nation, be one eſtate forfeited by treaſon, but ſuch conveyances and ſettlements would be produced to ſecure and defend the ſame, and they would be forged, and there would not be witneſſes wanting to prove and juſtify whatſoever their evidence could be applied to, and if thoſe trials were to be by the known rules and cuſtoms of the law in caſes of the like nature, there was too much reaſon to ſuſpect and fear that there would be little juſtice done, ſince a jury of Iriſh would infallibly find againſt the Engliſh, let the evidence be what it could be, and there was too much reaſon to apprehend that the Engliſh, whoſe animoſity was not leſs, would be as unjuſt in bringing in their verdict againſt the Iriſh right or wrong, and there was experience afterwards in the proſecution of this affair, of ſuch forgeries and perjuries, as hath not been heard of amongſt chriſtians, and in which to our ſhame the Engliſh were not behind hand with the Iriſh: he however thought it not reaſonable or juſt for him, upon what probable ſuggeſtions ſoever, to countenance ſuch a bareſaced violation of the law by any declaration of his, but commanded his council at law to make ſuch alterations in the expreſſions, as might be fit for him to conſent to.

The third particular and which much affected the king was, that in this univerſal joy for his reſtoration without blood, and with the indemnity of ſo many hundred thouſands who had deſerved to ſuffer the utmoſt puniſhments the poor Iriſh after ſo long ſufferings in the greateſt extremity of miſery ſhould be the only perſons, who ſhould find no benefit or eaſe by his majeſty's reſtoration, but to remain robbed and ſpoiled of all they had, and to be as it were

were again ſacrificed to the avarice and cruelty of them, who had not deſerved better of his majeſty than the other poor people had done, to which there can be no other anſwer made, which is very ſufficient in point of juſtice, but that, as their rebellion and other crimes had been long before his majeſty's time, ſo full vengeance had been executed upon them, and they had paid the penalties of their crimes and tranſgreſſions before his majeſty's return, ſo that he could not reſtore that which they called their own, without taking it from them, who were become the juſt owners by an act of parliament which his majeſty could not violate without injuſtice and breach of the faith he had given; and that which was the greateſt miſery and reproach, and which diſtinguiſhed them from the ſubjects of the other two kingdoms, who were otherwiſe bad enough, both the other nations had made many noble attempts for redeeming their liberty, and for the reſtoration of his majeſty; for Scotland itſelf had done much towards it and his preſent reſtoration was with God's bleſſing and only with his bleſſing by the ſole effects of the courage and affection of his own ſubjects, ſo that England and Scotland had in a great degree redeemed and even undone what had been before done amiſs by them, and his majeſty had improved and ſecured thoſe affections to him by thoſe promiſes and conceſſions which he was in juſtice obliged to perform; but the miſerable Iriſh alone had no part in contributing to his majeſty's happineſs, nor had God ſuffered them to be the leaſt inſtruments in bringing his good pleaſure to paſs, or to give any teſtimony of their repentance for the wickedneſs they had wrought, or of their reſolution to be better ſubjects for the future; ſo that they ſeemed as a people left out by providence, and exempted from

any benefit from that bleſſed conjuncture in his majeſty's reſtitution, and this diſadvantage was improved towards them by their frequent manifeſtation of an inveterate animoſity againſt the Engliſh nation and Engliſh government which again was returned to them in an irreconcileable jealouſy of all the Engliſh towards them, and to this their preſent behaviour and imprudence contributed very much, for it appeared evidently, that they expected the ſame conceſſions (which the neceſſity of that time had made fit to be granted to them) in reſpect of their religion ſhould be now likewiſe confirmed, and this temper made it very neceſſary for the king to be very wary in diſpenſing extraordinary favours (which his natural merciful inclination prompted him to) to the Iriſh, and to prefer the general intereſt of his three kingdoms before the particular intereſt of a company of unhappy men, who had fooliſhly forfeited their own, tho' he pitied them, and hoped in the concluſion to be able, without expoſing the publick peace to manifeſt hazard, in ſome degree to improve their condition: upon the whole matter the king found, that if he deferred to ſettle the government of Ireland till a perfect ſettlement of all particular intereſts could be made, it would be very long, he ſaw it could not be done at once and that there muſt be ſome examinations taken there, and ſome matters more clearly ſtated and adjuſted, before his majeſty could make his determination upon thoſe particulars, which purely depended upon his own judgment, and that ſome difficulties would he removed or leſſened by time, and ſo he paſſed that which is called the firſt act of parliament, and was perſuaded to commit the execution thereof to a great number of commiſſioners, recommended to his majeſty by thoſe who were

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moſt converſant in the affairs of Ireland, none or very few of which were known to his majeſty or to any of thoſe, who had been ſo many years from their country in their conſtant attendance upon his majeſty's perſon beyond the ſeas: and for the better countenance of this commiſſion, and likewiſe to reſtrain the commiſſioners from any exceſs (if their very large juriſdiction ſhould prove a temptation to them) the king thought fit to commit the ſword to three juſtices, which he had reſolved when the ſending the lord Robarts was declined, thoſe three were Sir Maurice Euſtace, whom he newly made lord chancellor of Ireland, the lord Broghill, whom he now made earl of Orrery, and Sir Charles Coote, whom he likewiſe made earl of Montrath; the firſt had been his ſerjeant at law long in that kingdom, and had been eminent in the profeſſion of the law, and the more eſteemed for being always a Proteſtant, tho' an Iriſhman, and of approved fidelity to the king during this whole rebellion, but he was now old, and made ſo little ſhew of any parts extraordinary, that, but for the teſtimony that was given of him, it might have been doubted, whether he ever had any: the other two had been both eminently againſt the king, but upon this turn, when all other powers were down, eminently for him, the one very able and generous, the other proud, dull, and very avaricious, but the king had not then power to chuſe any againſt whom ſome as material objections might not be made, and who had been able to do as much good; with them there were too many others, upon whom honours were conferred, upon ſome that they might do no harm, who thereby were enabled to do the more, and upon others, that they might not murmur who murmured the more for having nothing given them but honour, and ſo

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they were all diſpatched for Ireland, by which the king had ſome eaſe, his ſervice little advancement.

After a year was ſpent in the execution of this commiſſion (for I ſhall without diſcontinuing the relation ſay all that I intend upon this ſubject of Ireland) there was very little done towards the ſettling the kingdom, or towards preparing any thing that might ſettle it, but on the contrary the breaches were made wider, and ſo much paſſion and injuſtice ſhewed, that complaints were brought to his majeſty from all parts of the kingdom, and from all perſons in authority there; the number of the commiſſioners was ſo great, and their intereſt ſo different, that they made no diſpatch, very many of them were in poſſeſſion of thoſe lands, which others ſued for before them, and they themſelves bought broken titles and pretences of other men for inconſiderable ſums of money, which they ſupported and made good by their own authority; ſuch of the commiſſioners, who had their own particular intereſt and concernment depending, attended the ſervice very diligently, the few, who were more equal and juſt, becauſe they had no intereſt of their own at ſtake, were weary of their attendance and expence (there being no allowance for their pains) and offended at the partiality and injuſtice which they ſaw practiſed, withdrew themſelves, and would be no longer preſent at thoſe tranſactions, which they could not regulate, or reform; all intereſts were equally offended and incenſed, and the ſoldiers and adventurers complained no leſs of the corruption and injuſtice, than the Iriſh did, ſo that the lords juſtices and council thought it neceſſary to tranſmit another bill to his majeſty which (as I remember) they called an explanatory bill of the former, and in that they provided that no perſon, who lived

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in Ireland, or had any pretence to an eſtate there, ſhould be employed as a commiſſioner, but that his majeſty ſhould be deſired to ſend over a competent number of well qualified perſons out of England to attend that ſervice, upon whom a fit ſalary ſhould be ſettled by the bill and ſuch rules, ſet down, as might direct and govern the manner of their proceeding, and that an oath might be preſcribed by the bill, which the commiſſioners ſhould take, for the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, and for the proſecution and execution of this bill, which was tranſmitted as an act by the king; his majeſty made choice of ſeven gentlemen of very clear reputation, one of them being an eminent ſerjeant at law, whom he made a judge upon his return from thence, two other lawyers of very much eſteem, and the other four, gentlemen of very good extractions, excellent underſtandings, and above all ſuſpicion for their integrity, and generally reputed to be ſuperior to any baſe temptation: but this ſecond bill, before it could be tranſmitted, took up as much time as the former, the ſame numerous retinue of all intereſts from Ireland attended the king, and all that had been ſaid in the former debates was again repeated, and almoſt with the ſame paſſion and impertinence; the Iriſh made large obſervations upon the proceedings of the late commiſſioners to juſtify thoſe fears and apprehenſions, which they had formerly urged; and there appeared too much reaſon to believe, that the greateſt deſign now was rather to keep off any ſettlement than that they hoped to procure ſuch a one as they deſired; relying more to find their account from a general diſſatisfaction, and the diſtraction and confuſion that was like to attend it, than from any determination that was like to be in their favour; yet they had friends in the court, who made

made them great promiſes, which they could not be without, ſince they made as great promiſes to thoſe who were to protect them: there were indeed many particulars both of the ſoldiers and adventurers, who in reſpect of their many notorious and opprobrious actions againſt the crown throughout their whole employment, and who ever ſince his majeſty's return had enough expreſſed how little they were ſatisfied with the revolution, and were ſo univerſally odious both in England and Ireland, that if their particular caſes could have been ſevered from the reſt, without the violation of the rule rule of juſtice that ſecured all the reſt any thing, that could have been done to their detriment would have been grateful enough to every body: after many very tedious debates, in which his majeſty endeavoured by all the ways he could think of, to find ſome expedient that would enable him to preſerve the miſerable Iriſh from the extremity of miſery, he found it neceſſary at laſt to acquieſce with a very poſitive aſſurance from the earl of Orrery and others, who were believed to underſtand Ireland very exactly, and who upon the ſurveys that had been taken with great punctuality, undertook that there was land enough to ſatisfy all the ſoldiers and adventurers, and that there would be a great proportion left for the accommodation of the Iriſh very liberally, and for the better improvement of that proportion, the king preſcribed ſome rules and limitations to the immoderate pretences and demands of the ſoldiers and adventurers upon the doubling ordinance, and imperfect admeaſurement and ſome other irregularities with which his majeſty was not in honour or juſtice obliged to comply and ſo he tranſmitted this ſecond bill.

Whilſt

Whilſt this ſecond bill was under deliberation, there fell out an accident in Ireland, which produced great alterations with reference to the affairs of that kingdom, the differences which had every day ariſen between the three juſtices, and their different humours and affections had little advanced the ſettling that government, ſo that there would have been a neceſſity of making ſome mutation in it, ſo that the death of the earl of Montrath, which happened at this time, fell out conveniently enough to the king, for by it the government was again looſe, for the earl of Orrery was in England and the power reſided not in leſs than two, ſo that the chancellor, who remained ſingle there, was without any authority to act, and they, who took the moſt diſpaſſioned ſurvey of all that had been done, and of what remained to be done, did conclude that nothing could reaſonably produce a ſettlement there, but the deputing one ſingle perſon to exerciſe that government. And the duke of Albemarle himſelf, who had a great eſtate in that kingdom, which made him the more long for a ſettlement, and who had before the king's return, and ever ſince diſſuaded the king from thinking of employing the duke of Ormonde there, who had himſelf averſion enough from that command, of which he had ſufficient experience, I ſay, the general had now ſo totally changed his mind, that he plainly told the king, that there was no way to extricate that kingdom out of thoſe intricacies, in which it was involved, but by ſending over a lord lieutenant thither, that he thought it not fit for his majeſty's ſervice, that himſelf, who had the commiſſion of lord lieutenant, ſhould be abſent from his perſon, and therefore that he was very ready and deſirous to give up his commiſſion, and that in his judgement no body would be

able to ſettle and compoſe the ſeveral factions in that kingdom but the duke of Ormonde, who he believed would be grateful to all ſorts of people, and therefore he adviſed his majeſty very poſitively, that he would immediately give him the commiſſion, and as ſoon as ſhould be poſſible, ſend him away into Ireland: and both the king and the general ſpake with the duke of Ormonde, and prevailed with him to accept it, before either of them communicated it to the chancellor, who the king well knew would for many reaſons out of his great friendſhip to the duke diſſuade him from undertaking it, which was very true, and the king and the duke of Ormonde came one day to the chancellor to adviſe what was to be done for Ireland, and (concealing the reſolution) the king told him, what the general's advice was, and aſked him what he thought of his ſending the duke of Ormonde his lieutenant into Ireland, to which the chancellor anſwered preſently, that the king would do very ill in ſending him, and that the duke would do much worſe, if he deſired to go, upon which they both ſmiled and told him, that the general had prevailed with the king, and the king with the duke, ſo that the matter was reſolved, and there remained nothing to be done, but preparing the inſtructions, which he muſt think upon; the chancellor could not refrain from ſaying very warmly, that he was ſorry for it, and that it would be good for neither of them, that the duke ſhould be from the king, or that he ſhould be in Ireland, where he would be able to do no good, beſides that he had given ſo much to his eaſe and pleaſure ſince he came into England, that he would never be able to take the pains, which that moſt laborious province would require, he ſaid, if this council had been taken when the king came firſt over, it

might

might have had good ſucceſs, when the duke was full of reputation and of unqueſtionable intereſt in his majeſty and the king himſelf was more feared and reverenced than preſumed upon, ſo that the duke would have had full authority to have reſtrained the exorbitant deſires and expectations of all the ſeveral parties, who had all guilt enough upon their hearts to fear ſome rigour from the king, or to receive moderate grace with infinite ſubmiſſion and acknowledgement; but now the duke, beſides his withdrawing himſelf from all buſineſs as much as he could, had let himſelf fall to familiarities with all degrees of men, and upon their averments had undertaken to protect or at leaſt to ſolicit mens intereſts, which it may be might not appear upon examination to be founded upon juſtice, and the king himſelf had been expoſed to all manner of importunities, received all men's addreſſes, and heard all they would ſay, made many promiſes without deliberation, and appeared ſo deſirous to ſatisfy all men, that he was irreſolute in all things, and therefore till he had taken ſome firm and fixed reſolution himſelf, from which neither prejudice towards one man, nor pity and compaſſion on the behalf of another ſhould remove, the lieutenant of Ireland would be able to do him little ſervice, and would be himſelf continually expoſed to ſcorn and affronts: and afterwards the chancellor expoſtulated warmly with the duke of Ormonde, who well knew that all his commotion proceeded from the integrity of his unqueſtionable friendſhip, and told him, that he would repent this raſh reſolution, and that he would have been able to have contributed more to the ſettlement of Ireland, by being near the perſon of the king than by being at Dublin, from whence in a ſhort time there would be as many aſperſions and

reproaches ſent hither as there had been againſt other men, and that he had no reaſon to be confident, that they would not make as deep impreſſion by the arts and induſtry of his enemies, of which he had ſtore, and would have more, by being abſent, for the court naturally had little regard for any man, who was abſent, and that he carried with him the ſame infirmity in Ireland with that of the king, which kept him from being ſettled here, which was unwillingneſs to deny any man, what he could not but ſee was impoſſible to grant, and a deſire to pleaſe every body, which whoſoever affected ſhould pleaſe nobody: the duke, who never took any thing ill, he ſaid to him, told him, that nobody knew better than he the averſion he had to that command, when it may be he might have undertaken it with more advantage, he confeſſed he ſaw many dangers with referrence to himſelf, which he knew not how to avoid, and many difficulties with referrence to the publick, which he had little hope, to overcome, yet Ireland muſt not be given over yet, ſince there ſeemed to be a general opinion, with which the king concurred, that he could be able to contribute to the compoſing the diſtempers, and the ſettling the government, he would not ſuſpect himſelf, but believe that he might be able to do ſomewhat towards it, and he gave his word to him, that nothing ſhould be defective on his part, in point of induſtry, for he was reſolved to take indefatigable pains for a year or two, in which he hoped the ſettlement would be compleated, that he might have eaſe and recreation for the other part of his life; and he confeſſed that he did the more willingly enter upon that province that he might have the opportunity to ſettle his own fortune, which how great ſoever in extent of land did not yet by reaſon of the

general

general unſettlement yield him a quarter of the revenue it ought to do; that for what concerned himſelf, and the diſadvantages he might undergo by his abſence, he referred it to providence, and the king's good nature, who, he ſaid, knew him better than any of his enemies did, and therefore he hoped he would believe himſelf before them; however the truth is he was the more diſpoſed to that journey by the diſlike he had of the court, and neceſſary exerciſes which the men there were to excel in, and for which he was ſuperannuated, and if he did not already diſcern any leſſening of the kings grace towards him, he ſaw enough to make him believe, that the contrary ought not to be depended upon, and within four years after he had cauſe to remember what the chancellor had foretold him of both their fortunes: the duke with the ſeven commiſſioners who were appointed for that act of ſettlement, and all other perſons who attended that intereſt, entered upon his journey from London about the end of July in the year 1664, full four years and more after the king's happy return into England.

It was ſome months after the commiſſioners arrival in Ireland before they could ſettle thoſe orders and rules for their proceedings, which were neceſſary to be done, before the people ſhould be appointed to attend, and it was as neceſſary, that they ſhould in the order of their judicatory firſt proceed upon the demands and pretences of the Iriſh, both becauſe there could be no ſettlement of ſoldiers or adventurers in poſſeſſion of any land, before the title of the Iriſh to thoſe lands were determined, and becauſe there was a clauſe in the laſt act of parliament that all the Iriſh ſhould put in their claims by a day appointed, and that they ſhould be determined before another day,

which

which was likewiſe aſſigned, which day might be prolonged for once by the lord lieutenant upon ſuch reaſons as ſatisfied him: ſo that the delay for ſo many months before the commiſſioners ſake, gave great argument of complaint to the Iriſh, tho' it could not be avoided, in regard that the commiſſioners themſelves had not been nominated by the king above twenty days before they began their journey into Ireland, ſo that they could never ſo much as read over the acts of parliament together before they came to Dublin, and then they found ſo many difficult clauſes in both acts of parliament and ſo contrary to each other, that it was no eaſy matter to determine how to govern themſelves in point of right, and to reduce themſelves to any method in their proceedings; but after they had adjuſted all things as well as they could, they publiſhed their orders, in what method they meant to proceed and appointed the Iriſh to put in their claims by ſuch a day, and to attend the proſecution of them accordingly, and they had no ſooner entered upon their work, but the Engliſh thought they had begun it ſoon enough, for they heard every day many of the Iriſh, who had been known to have been the moſt forward in the firſt beginning of the rebellion, and the moſt malicious in carrying it on, declared innocent, and that deeds of ſettlement and intails, which had been never heard of before, and which would have been produced (as might reaſonably be believed) before the former commiſſioners, if they had had them to produce, now declared to be good and valid, by which the Iriſh were immediately put into the poſſeſſion of a very great quantity of land taken from the Engliſh, ſo that in a ſhort time the commiſſioners had rendered themſelves as generally odious as the Iriſh, and were looked upon as perſons

corrupted

corrupted for that intereſt, which had every day ſucceſs almoſt in whatſoever they pretended: and their determinations happened to have the more of prejudice upon them, becauſe the commiſſioners were always divided in their judgements, and it is no wonder that they who ſeemed moſt to adhere to the Engliſh intereſt, were moſt eſteemed by them: the parliament in Ireland was then ſitting, and the Houſe of Commons, conſiſting of many members, who were either ſoldiers or adventurers or had the like intereſt, was very much offended at the proceedings of the commiſſioners who knew their own power, and that there was no appeal againſt their judgements proceeded ſtill in their own method, and continued to receive the claims of the Iriſh beyond the time that the act of parliament or the act of ſtate limited to them, as was generally underſtood, and during the laſt eight or ten days ſitting upon thoſe claims, they paſſed more judgements and determinations than in near a year before, indeed with very wonderful expedition, when the Engliſh who were diſpoſſeſſed by thoſe judgements had not their witneſſes ready upon a preſumption that in point of time it was not poſſible for thoſe cauſes to come to be heard; by theſe ſentences and decrees many hundred thouſand of acres were adjudged to the Iriſh, which had been looked upon as unqueſtionably forfeited, and of which the Engliſh had been long in poſſeſſion accordingly; this raiſed ſo great a clamour, that the Engliſh refuſed to yield poſſeſſion upon the decrees of the commiſſioners who by an omiſſion in the act of parliament were not qualified with power enough to provide for the execution of their own ſentences, the courts of law eſtabliſhed in that kingdom would not, nor indeed could give any aſſiſtance to the commiſsioners and the lord lieutenant and council, who

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had in the beginning by their authority put many of thoſe into the poſſeſſion of the lands which had been decreed to them by the commiſſioners, were now more tender and reſerved in that multitude of decrees that had lately paſſed: ſo that the Iriſh were uſing their utmoſt endeavours by force to recover the poſſeſſions of thoſe lands which the commiſſioners had decreed to them, whilſt the Engliſh were likewiſe reſolved by force to defend what they had been ſo long poſſeſſed of, notwithſtanding the commiſſioners determination, and the commiſſioners were ſo far troubled and diſſatisfied with theſe proceedings, and with ſome intricate clauſes in the act of parliament concerning the future proceedings, that tho' they had not yet made any entrance upon the deciſion of the claims of the Engliſh, or of the Iriſh Proteſtants, they declared that they would proceed no further in the execution of their commiſſion, untill they could receive his majeſty's further pleaſure, and that they might the more effectually receive it, they deſired leave from the king that they might attend his royal perſon, and there being at the ſame time ſeveral complaints made againſt them to his majeſty and appeals to him from their decrees, he gave the commiſſioners leave to return, and at the ſame time all the other intereſts ſent their deputies to ſolicit their rights, in the proſecution whereof, after much time ſpent, the king thought fit likewiſe to receive the advice and aſſiſtance of his lieutenant, and ſo the duke of Ormonde returned again to the court, and the ſettlement of Ireland was the third time brought before the king and council, there being then likewiſe tranſmitted a third bill, as additional and ſupplemental to the other two, and to reverſe many of the decrees made by the commiſſioners, they bearing the reproach of all that

had

had been done, or had ſucceeded amiſs, and from all perſons who were grieved in what kind ſoever.

The king was very tender of the reputation of his commiſſioners who had been always eſteemed men of great probity and unqueſtionable reputation, and tho' he could not refuſe to receive complaints, yet he gave thoſe, who complained, no further countenance, than to give the others opportunity to vindicate themſelves, nor did there appear the leaſt evidence to queſtion the ſincerity of their proceeding or to make them liable to any reaſonable or juſt ſuſpicion of corruption, and the complaints were ſtill proſecuted by thoſe, who had that taken from them, which they deſired to keep for themſelves; the truth is, there is reaſon enough to believe, that upon the firſt arrival of the commiſſioners in Ireland, and ſome converſation they had, and the obſervation they made of the great bitterneſs and animoſities from the Engliſh, both ſoldiers and adventurers towards the whole Iriſh nation of what kind ſoever, the ſcandalous proceeding of the late commiſſioners upon the firſt act, where they had not been guided by any rules of juſtice, but rejecting all evidence, which might operate to the taking away any thing from them, which they reſolved to keep, the judges themſelves being both parties and witneſſes in all the cauſes brought before them, together with the very ill reputation, very many of the ſoldiers and adventurers had for extraordinary malice to the crown and to the royal family, and the notable barbarity they had exerciſed towards the Iriſh, who without doubt for many years had undergone the moſt cruel oppreſſions of all kinds that can be imagined, many thouſands of them having been forced, without being covered under any houſe, to periſh

in the open fields for hunger, the infamous purchaſes which had been made by many perſons, who had compelled the Iriſh to ſell their remainders and lawful pretences for very inconſiderable ſums of money, I ſay, theſe and many other particulars of this kind, together with ſome attempt that had been made upon their firſt arrival to corrupt them againſt all pretences which ſhould be made by the Iriſh, might probably diſpoſe the commiſſioners themſelves to ſuch a prejudice againſt many of the Engliſh, and to ſuch a compaſſion towards the Iriſh, that they might be much inclined to favour their pretences and claims, and to believe that the peace of the kingdom and his majeſty's government might be better provided for by their being ſettled in the lands of which they had been formerly poſſeſſed, than by ſupporting the ill gotten titles of thoſe, who had manifeſted all imaginable infidelity and malice againſt his majeſty whilſt they had any power to oppoſe him, and had not given any teſtimony of their converſion, or of their reſolution to yield him for the future a perfect and intire obedience, after they could oppoſe him no longer, as if they deſired only to retain thoſe lands, which they had gotten by rebellion, together with the principles by which they had gotten them, untill they ſhould have an opportunity to juſtify both by ſome new power, or a concurrence amongſt themſelves: whence ſoever it proceeded it was plain enough the Iriſh had received more favour, than was expected or imagined, and in the very entrance into the work, to avoid the partiality which was too apparent in the Engliſh towards each other, and their animoſity againſt the Iriſh as evident, very ſtrict rules had been ſet down by the commiſſioners, what kind of evidence they would admit to be good, and to receive accordingly;

and

and it was provided, that the evidence of no ſoldier or adventurer in any caſe, to which himſelf was never ſo much a ſtranger, as, if his own lot had fallen in Munſter, and he had no pretence to any thing out of that province, his evidence ſhould not be received, as to any thing he had ſeen in Leinſter, or Connaught, or Ulſter, wherein he was not at all concerned, which was generally thought to be a very unjuſt rule, after ſo many years expired, and ſo many perſons dead, who had likewiſe been preſent at thoſe actions, and by this means many men were declared not to have been in the rebellion, when there might have been full evidence that they had been preſent in ſuch and ſuch a battle, and in ſuch and ſuch a ſiege, if the witneſſes might have been received, who were then preſent at thoſe actions, and ready to give teſtimony of it, and of ſuch circumſtances, as could not have been feigned, if their evidence might have been received; that which raiſed the greateſt umbrage againſt the commiſſioners was, that a great number of the moſt infamous perſons of the Iriſh nation, who were looked upon by thoſe of their own country with the greateſt deteſtation, as men who had been the moſt violent fomenters and proſecutors of the rebellion, and the greateſt oppoſers of all moderate councils, and of all expedients which might have contributed towards a peace in the late king's time, whereby the nation might have been redeemed and who had not had ſo much as to offer any claim before the late commiſſioners, were now adjudged and declared innocent, and ſo reſtored to their eſtates, and that many others, who in truth had never been in rebellion, but had notoriouſly ſerved the king againſt the rebels both in England and Ireland, and had never been put out of their eſtates were now upon ſome ſlight evidence by the inter-

ception of letters, or confeſſion of meſſengers, that they had had correſpondence with the rebels, tho' it was evident that even that correſpondence had been perfunctory and only to ſecure them that they might purſue his majeſty's ſervice, were condemned, and had their eſtates taken from them by the judgement of the commiſſioners, and of this I cannot forbear to give an inſtance, and the rather that it may appear how much a perſonal prejudice upon what account ſoever weighs and prevails againſt juſtice itſelf, even with men that are not in their natures friends to injuſtice; it was the caſe of the earl of Tirconell, and it was this; he was the younger ſon of the lord Fitzwilliam, a catholick lord in Ireland, but of antient Engliſh extraction, of a fair eſtate, and never ſuſpected to be inclined to the rebels, as very few of the Engliſh were; Oliver Fitzwilliam (who was the perſon we are now ſpeaking of, and the younger ſon of that lord Fitzwilliam) had been ſent by his father into France to be there educated many years before the rebellion; he was a proper and a handſome man, and by his courage had gotten a very good reputation in the French army, where after he had ſpent ſome years in the campaign, he obtained the command of a regiment, in which he had been firſt a captain, and was looked upon generally as an excellent officer; when the army was ſent into winter quarters, he went to Paris to kiſs the hands of the queen of England, who was thither the ſummer before, it being in the year 1644: having often waited upon her majeſty, he made many profeſſions of duty and obedience to the king, and much condemned the rebellion of the Iriſh, and ſaid he knew many of them were cozened and deceived by tales and lies, and had no purpoſe to withdraw themſelves from his

his majeſties obedience, he made offer of his ſervice to the queen, and that if ſhe thought he might be able to do the king any ſervice, he would immediately go into England, and with his majeſties approbation into Ireland, where if he could do no other ſervice he was confident he could draw off many of the Iriſh from the ſervice of the rebels. The queen, upon the good reputation he had there, accepted his offer and wrote a letter by him to the king with a very good character of his perſon, and as very fit to be truſted in Ireland; it was his fortune to come to the king very few days before the battle of Naſeby, where as a voluntier in the troop of prince Rupert, he behav'd himſelf with very ſignal courage in the view of the king himſelf, who ſhortly after gave him a letter full of recommendation and teſtimony to the marquis of Ormonde his lieutenant in Ireland, who received him kindly, and having confer'd with him at large, and unſterſtood all he intended to do, gave him leave to go into the Iriſh quarters, and to return again as he thought fit, and in a ſhort time after both his father and elder brother died, whereby both the title and eſtate devolved to him, and he was poſſeſſed accordingly; the man was before, and in his nature elate and proud enough, had a greater value of himſelf than other men had, and a leſs of other men than they deſerved, whereby he got not himſelf beloved by many, but no body who lov'd him worſt, ever ſuſpected him to incline to the rebels, tho' they knew that he was often in their quarters, and had often conferences with them, and as good part of his eſtate lay in their quarters; he attended upon the lord lieutenant in all his expeditions, and when the Iriſh ſo infamouſly broke the firſt peace, and beſieged the lieutenant in Dublin, upon which he was compell'd to deliver it unto

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the hands of the parliament with the king's conſent, lord Fitzwilliam returned with him or about the ſame time into England, and from thence again into France, where he married the daughter of the widow counteſs of Claſe and ſiſter to that earl, a lady of a religion the moſt oppoſite to the Roman Catholick, which he ſuffer'd her to enjoy without any contradiction: when the war was at an end in England, and the king a priſoner, he with his wife and family tranſported himſelf into England, and after ſome time into Ireland, where Cromwell had a jealous eye upon him, but not being able to diſcover any thing againſt him, could not hinder him from poſſeſſing the eſtate that had deſcended to him from his father and elder brother, and the war being there ended, and the ſettlement made by the act of parliament upon the ſtatute, as hath been mentioned before, there was not the leaſt trouble given him, but he quietly enjoyed the poſſeſſion of his whole eſtate till the king's return, when he came into England to kiſs his majeſties hand, and was by him made earl of Tirconell; when the commiſſioners ſat upon the firſt act, and who obſerved no rule of juſtice, law or equity, when they contradicted any intereſt or appetite of their own, he received no diſturbance, but when theſe new commiſſioners came over, all men as well Proteſtants as others, whoſe eſtates had never been queſtioned, thought it ſafeſt for them to put in their claimes before the commiſſioners to prevent any trouble that might ariſe hereafter: this gentleman followed that advice and example, put in his claim, and preſſed the commiſſioners for a ſhort day to be heard, the day was appointed, neither adventurer, ſoldier, or any other perſon made any title to the land, but ſome envious perſon unqualified for any proſecution, offered a letter to

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the commiſſioners which had many years before and before his coming into Ireland been written by Coll. Fitzwilliam in Paris to a Jeſuit one Harlogar in Ireland, in which he gave him notice of his purpoſe of coming into Ireland, where he hoped to do their friends ſome ſervice, this letter was wrote when the queen firſt deſigned to ſend him to the king, that the Iriſh who were the moſt jealous people in the World, might not know of his purpoſe to come thither before they ſhould hear of his being in Dublin, and now being produced before the commiſſioners without conſidering how long ſince it was wrote, or the reaſon of writing it, that he had ſerved the king, and never in the leaſt degree againſt him, upon one of their rules, that a correſpondence with the rebels was a good evidence, they without any pauſe declared him nocent, and preſently aſſigned his eſtate to ſome perſons, to whom reprizals were to be made; whilſt they, who thought the judgment very unjuſt, laugh'd at the ill luck of a man whom they did not love, and all men were well enough pleaſed with the ſentence, who were diſpleaſed with the perſon, and this part purſued him ſo ſeverely into England, that the king's interpoſition to redeem him from ſo unjuſt a decree, was look'd upon as over favouring the Iriſh, when none was ſo glad of the decree as the Iriſh, who univerſally hated him, nor was he at laſt reſtored to the poſſeſſion of his eſtate, without making ſome compoſition with thoſe, to whom the commiſſioners had aſſign'd it: many, who had formerly made their claims without inſiſting upon any deeds of ſettlement or other conveyances at law, now produc'd former ſettlements in conſideration of marriage, or other like good conſiderations in law, made before the beginning of the rebellion, which being now proved by witneſſes

enough

enough decrees were every day obtained for the reſtitution of great quantities of land upon thoſe deeds and conveyances, tho' the forgeries of thoſe deeds, and perjury of thoſe witneſſes were very notorious, and ſome inſtances were given of the manifeſtation and direct proof that was made of the forgery of deeds, upon which decrees had been made, to the ſatisfaction of the commiſſioners themſelves within a very ſhort time after pronouncing thoſe decrees, and yet no reparation was given, but the decrees proceeded and were executed with all rigour, as if no ſuch thing had appeared.

The commiſſioners anſwered that they had made no decrees but according to their conſciences and ſuch as they were obliged to make by the courſe and rule of juſtice, that they did doubt and in truth believe that there had been evil practiſes uſed, both in the forging of deeds and corrupting of witneſſes, and that the ſame was equally practiſed by the Engliſh as the Iriſh, and therefore that they had been obliged to make that order which had been ſo much excepted againſt, not to admit the teſtimony of any Engliſh adventurer or ſoldier in the caſe of another adventurer or ſoldier, for that it was very notorious, that they look'd upon the whole as one joint intereſt, and ſo gratified each other in their teſtimonies, and of this they gave many ſad inſtances, by which it was too evident that the perjuries were mutural, and too much practiſed by the one and the other ſide; that they had uſed all the providence and vigilance they could by the careful examination of witneſſes, which were produced apart, and never in the preſence of each other, and by aſking them all ſuch material queſtions, as occur'd to their underſtandings, and which they could not expect to be aſked,

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to diſcover the truth, and to prevent and manifeſt all perjuries; that they had likewiſe uſed their utmoſt diligence and care to prevent their being impoſed upon with falſe and forged deeds and conveiances, by taking a preciſe and ſtrict view themſelves of all deeds produced; and interrogated the witneſſes with all the cunning they could upon the matter, and conſiderations upon which ſuch deeds had been entered into; and upon the matter and circumſtances in the execution thereof, which was all the providence they could uſe; and tho' they met with many reaſons oftentimes to doubt the integretity of the proceedings, and in their own private conſciences to apprehend there might be great corruption, yet that they were obliged judicially to determine according to the teſtimony of the witneſſes and the evidence of thoſe deeds in law, againſt which no proofs were made; that they had conſtantly heard all that the adverſe party had thought fit to object, both againſt the credit of any witneſſes, and the truth and validity of any conveyances, which were produced, upon which they had rejected many witneſſes, and diſſallowed ſome conveyances; but when the objections were only founded upon preſumptions and probabilities, as moſt uſually they were, they could not weigh down the full and categorial evidence that was given; that if they had yielded to the importunities of the perſons concerned, who have often preſſed to have further time given to them to prove ſuch a perjury, or to diſprove ſuch a conveyance, it muſt have made their work endleſs, and ſtopp'd all manner of proceedings, for which it appear'd they were ſtreighten'd too much in time and that indeed; would but have open'd the door wider for perjuries and other corruptions, ſince it was very plain to them, that either ſide could bring as many

as they pleas'd, to prove what they pleas'd, and that they would bring as many as they believed neceſſary to the work in hand; and therefore the commiſſioners having before preſcrib'd a method and rule to themſelves for their proceedings, and that no man could have a cauſe, in which he was concern'd, brought to hearing, without his knowing when it was to be heard, and ſo it was to be preſum'd that he was well provided to ſupport his own title, and therefore they had thought fit upon mature deliberation amongſt themſelves, to adhere to the order they had preſcrib'd to themſelves, and others, and to conclude that they would not be able to prove that another day, which they were not able to prove at the time when they ought to have been ready, for the diſcovery of any forgery after the decrees had been paſt, and upon which they had given no reparation. They confeſs'd that ſome few ſuch diſcoveries had been made to them, by which the forgery appeared very clearly, but as they had no power by the act of parliament to puniſh either forgery or perjury, but muſt leave the examination and puniſhment thereof to the law, and to the judges of the law, ſo that they had only authority to make decrees upon ſuch grounds as ſatisfied their conſciences, but had not any authority to reverſe thoſe decrees, after they were once made and publiſhed, upon any evidence whatſoever. They concluded with their humble deſire to the king, that the moſt ſtrict examinations might be made of their corruptions, in which they ſaid they were ſure to be found very innocent, againſt all the malice that was diſcover'd againſt them; that they had proceeded in all things according to the integrity of their hearts, and the beſt of their underſtandings; and if thro' the defect of that they had err'd in any part of their determinations

and judgments they hoped their want of wisdom should not be imputed to them as a crime.

Many, who had a very good opinion of the persons and abilities of the commissioners, were not yet satisfyed with their defence, nor did they believe that they were so strictly bound to judge upon the testimony of suspected witnesses; but that they were therefore trusted with an arbitrary power, because it was foreseen that juries were not like to be intire; so that they were upon weighing all circumstances, to declare what in their consciences they believed to be true and just; that if they had bound themselves up by strict and unreasonable rules, that they should rather in time have reformed those rules, than think to support what was done amiss by the observation of what they had prescrib'd of themselves; and it was believed that the entire exclusion to the English from being witnesses for the proving of what could not in nature be otherwise proved, was not just or reasonable; that their want of power to reverse or alter their own decrees upon any emergent reasons, which could afterwards recur, was a just ground for their more serious deliberation in and before they passed any such decrees; and their excuse for not granting longer time when it was pressed for, upon reasons which were visibly not to be justify'd, it not being possible for any man to defend himself against the claims of the Irish, without knowing what deeds or witnesses they could produce, for making good their suggestions, and therefore it was as impossible for them to have all their evidence upon the place; besides that it was very evident, that in the last ten days of their siting (which was likewise thought to be, when their power as to those particulars was determined, and in which they had made more decrees than in all the time before)

they had made ſo many in a day (contrary to their former rule and method) that men were plainly ſurpriz'd, and could not produce thoſe proofs which in a ſhort time they might have been ſupply'd with; and the refuſing to allow them that time was upon the matter to determine their intereſt, and to take away their eſtates without being once heard, and upon the bare allegation of their adverſaries; and in theſe laſt decrees many inſtances were given of that nature, wherein the evidence appeared to be very full, if time had been given to produce it.

There was one very notable caſe decreed by the commiſſioners extremely complained of, and cry'd out againſt by all parties as well Iriſh as Engliſh, and for which the commiſſiones themſelves made no other excuſe or defence, but the receipt of a letter from the king, which was not thought a good plea for ſworn judges as the commiſſioners were; it was the caſe of the marquis of Antrim, which caſe having been ſo much upon the ſtage, and ſo much enlarg'd upon to the reproach of the king, and even to the traducing of the memory of his bleſſed father, and thoſe men who artificially contrived the doing of all that was done amiſs, having done all they could to ruin the reputation of the chancellor and to get it to be believed that he had by ſome ſiniſter information miſled the king to oblige the marquis, it is a debt due to truth, and to the honour of both their majeſties to ſet down a very particular narration of that whole affair; by which it will appear, how far the king was from ſo much as wiſhing that any thing ſhould be done for the benefit of the marquis, which ſhould be contrary to the rules of juſtice. Whilſt his majeſty was in foreign parts he received frequent advertiſements from England and from Ireland, that the

marquis of Antrim behav'd himſelf very undutifully towards him, and that he had made himſelf very grateful to the rebels by calumniating the late king; and that he had given it under his hand to Ireton, or ſome other principal perſon employ'd under Cromwell, that his majeſty had ſent him into Ireland to join with the rebels; and that his majeſty was not offended with the Iriſh for entring into that rebellion: which was a calumny ſo falſe and ſo odious, and reflected ſo much upon the honour of his majeſty, that the king was reſolv'd, as ſoon as God ſhould put it into his power, to cauſe the ſtricteſt examination to be made concerning it: the report having gained much credit with his majeſty by the notority that the marquis had procur'd great recommendations from thoſe who governed in Ireland, to thoſe who governed in England; that upon the preſumption of that he had come into England, and as far as St. Albans towards London, from whence he had been forced ſuddainly to return into Ireland by the activity of his many creditors, who upon the news of his coming had provided for his reception, and would unavoidably have caſt him into priſon; and no recommendation could have inclin'd thoſe who were in authority to do any thing extraordinary for the protection of a perſon, who from the beginning of the Iriſh rebellion lay under ſo ill a character with them, and had ſo ill a name throughout the kingdom. The king had been very few days in London after his arrival from the parts beyond the Seas, when he was inform'd, that the marquis of Antrim was upon his way from Ireland towards the Court; and the commiſſioners from Ireland, who have been mentioned before, were the firſt who gave his majeſty that information; and at the ſame time told him all that his majeſty

had

had heard before concerning the marquis, and of the bold calumnies with which he had traduced his royal father; with many other particulars, all which they affirm'd would be proved by unqueſtionable evidence, and by letters and certificates under his own hand. Upon this full information (of the truth whereof his majeſty entertained no doubt) as ſoon as the marquis came to the town, he was by the king's ſpecial order committed to the Tower; nor could any petition from him, or intreaty of his friends, of which he had ſome very powerful, prevail with his majeſty to admit him into his preſence, but by the firſt opportunity he was ſent priſoner to Dublin, where he was committed to the Caſtle, the king having given direction that he ſhould be proceeded againſt with all ſtrictneſs according to law, and to that purpoſe the lord juſtices were required to give all orders and directions neceſſary. The marquis ſtill profeſſed and avow'd his innocence, and uſed all the means he could to procure that he might be ſpeedily brought to his trial, which the king likewiſe expected; but after a years detention in priſon, and nothing brought againſt him, he was ſet at liberty, and had a paſs given him from the council there to go into England. He then apply'd himſelf to his majeſty demanding nothing of favour, but ſaid, he expected juſtice, and that after ſo many years being deprived of his eſtate, he might be at laſt reſtor'd to it, if nothing could be objected againſt him, wherein he had differv'd his majeſty. He was a gentleman who had been bred up in the Court of England, and having married the ducheſs of Buckingham (tho' againſt the king's will) he had been afterwards very well received by both their majeſty's and was frequently in their preſence. He had ſpent a very vaſt eſtate in the Court, without having ever received the leaſt

benefit

benefit from it. He had retir'd into Ireland and liv'd upon his own eſtate in that country ſome years before the rebellion broke out, in the beginning thereof he had undergone ſome ſuſpicion, having held ſome correſpondence with them, and poſſibly made ſome overtures to them, but he went ſpeedily to Dublin, was well receiv'd by the juſtices there, and from thence tranſported himſelf with their licence to Oxford, where the king was, to whom he gave ſo good an account of all that had paſſed, that his majeſty made no doubt of his affection to his ſervice, tho' he had very little confidence in his judgment, and underſtanding, which were never remarkable; beſides that it was well known that he had a very unreaſonable envy towards the marquis of Ormonde, and would fain have it believed that his intereſt in Ireland was ſo great, that he could retain that whole nation to his majeſty's obedience; but that vanity and preſumption never gain'd the leaſt credit with his majeſty, yet it may reaſonably be believed that he thought ſo himſelf, and that it was the ſource from whence all the bitter waters of his own misfortune iſſued.

Upon the Scots ſecond entring into England with their army upon the obligation of the covenant, and all his majeſty's endeavours to prevent it being diſapointed, the marquis of Montroſe had propos'd to the king to make a journey privately into Scotland, and to get into the Highlands, where with his majeſty's authority he hop'd he ſhould be able to draw together ſuch a body of men, as might give his countrymen cauſe to call for their own army out of England, to ſecure themſelves; and with this overture, or upon debate thereof, he wiſhed that the earl of Antrim (for he was then no more) might be likewiſe

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ſent into Ulſter, where his intereſt lay, and from whence he would be able to tranſport a body of men into the Highlands, where he had likewiſe the clan of Macdonalds, who acknowledged him to be their chief, and would be conſequently at his devotion, by which means the marquis of Montroſe would be enabled the more powerfully to proceed in his undertaking. The earl of Antrim entered upon this undertaking with great alacrity, and undertook to the king to perform great matters in Scotland, which his own intereſt and animoſity enough diſpoſed him to, having an old and ſharp controverſy and conteſtation, with the marquis of Argyl, who had diſpoſſeſſed him of a large territory there. All things being adjuſted for this undertaking, and his majeſty being well pleaſed with the earl's alacrity, he created him at that time a marquis, gave him letters to the marquis of Ormonde his Lieutenant there, as well to ſatisfy him of the good opinion he had of the marquis of Antrim, and of the truſt he had repoſed in him, as to wiſh him to give him all the aſſiſtance he could with convenience for the carrying on the expedition for Scotland; and for the better preventing any inconvenience that might fall out by the raſhneſs and inadvertency of the marquis of Antrim towards the lord lieutenant, his majeſty ſent Daniel Oneal of his bedchamber into Ireland with him, who had a great power over him, and very much credit with the marquis of Ormonde; and was a man of that dexterity and addreſs, that no man could ſo well prevent the inconveniences and prejudice which the natural levity and indiſcretion of the other might tempt him to, or more diſpoſe and incline the lord Lieutenant to take little notice of thoſe vanities and indiſcretions; and the king, who had no deſire that the marquis ſhould ſtay long in Dublin,

and

and upon his promiſe that he would uſe all poſſible expedition in tranſporting himſelf into Scotland, gave him leave to hold that correſpondence with the Iriſh rebels (who had the command of all the northern parts, and without whoſe connivance at leaſt he could very hardly be able to make his levies, and tranſport his men) as was neceſſary to his purpoſes, within the limits of which it is probable enough that he did not contain himſelf; for the education and converſation he had in the world, had not extirpated that natural craft in which that nation excells; and by which they only deceive themſelves, and might ſay many things, which he had not authority or warrant to ſay.

Upon his coming to Dublin, the lord lieutenant gave him all the countenance he could wiſh; and aſſiſted him in all the ways he could propoſe, to proſecute his deſign. But the men were to be raiſed in or near the rebels quarters, and it cannot be deny'd, but that the levies he made and ſent over into Scotland under the command of Kellkitoe, was the foundation of all thoſe wonderful acts, which were performed afterwards by the marquis of Montroſe. They were fifteen hundred men, very good and with very good officers, all ſo hardy, that neither the ill fare, nor the ill lodging in the Highands gave them any diſcouragement, and gave the firſt opportunity to the marquis of Montroſe of being in the head of an army, under which he drew together ſuch of the High-Landers and others of his friends, who were willing to repair to him. But upon any military action and defeat given to the enemy, which happened as often as they encountered the Scots, the High-Landers went always home with their booty, and the Iriſh only ſtay'd together with the general; and from this beginning the marquis of Montroſe grew to that power, that after many

battles won by him, with notable ſlaughther of the enemy, he marched victoriouſly with his army, till he made himſelf maſter of Edinburgh, and redeemed out of the Priſon there the earl of Seaforth, lord Ogilvy, and many other noble perſons, who had been taken and ſent thither, with reſolution that they ſhould loſe their heads; and the marquis of Montroſe did always acknowledge, that the riſe and beginning of his good ſucceſs was due and to be imputed to that body of Iriſh, which had in the beginning been ſent over by the marquis of Antrim, to whom the king had acknowledged the ſervice by ſeveral letters, all of his own hand writing, in which were very gracious expreſſions of the ſenſe his majeſty had of his great ſervices and his reſolution to reward him. It is true the marquis of Antrim had not gone over himſelf with his men as he had promiſed to do, but ſtayed in Ulſter under the pretence of raiſing a greater body of men, with which he would adventure his own perſon; but either out of jealouſie or diſpleaſure againſt the marquis of Montroſe, or having in truth no mind to that ſervice of Scotland, he proſecuted not that purpoſe, but remained ſtill in Ulſter, where all his own eſtate lay; and was ſo in the rebels quarters, and no doubt was often in their councils, by which he gave great advantages againſt himſelf, and might in ſtrictneſs of law have been as ſeverely puniſhed, by the king, as the worſt of the rebels. At laſt in his moving from place to place, for he was not in any expedition with the rebels, he was taken priſoner by the Scots, who intended to have put him to death for having ſent men into Scotland; but he made his eſcape out of their hands, and tranſported himſelf into Flanders, and from thence having aſſurance that the prince (his majeſty that now is) was then in the weſt, he came with

two

two good Frigates into the Port of Falmouth, and offered his ſervice to his royal highneſs; and having in his Frigates a quantity of arms and ſome ammunition, which he had procur'd in Flanders for the ſervice of Ireland, moſt of the arms and ammunition were employed with his conſent for the ſupply of the troops and garriſons in Cornwall; and the prince made uſe of one of the Frigates to tranſport himſelf to Scilly, and from thence to Jerſey, without which convenience his highneſs had been expoſed to great difficulties, and could hardly have eſcaped the hands of his enemies. After all which when Dublin was given up to the parliament and the king's authority was withdrawn out of that kingdom, he again not having wherewithall to live any where elſe, tranſported himſelf into Ireland, made himſelf gracious with the Iriſh, and was by them ſent into France, to deſire the queen mother and the prince of Wales, to ſend the marquis of Ormonde to reaſſume his majeſty's government in that kingdom, which was done accordingly in the manner that is mentioned elſewhere.

The marquis of Antrim alledged all theſe particulars, and produced many original letters from the late king, beſides thoſe which are mentioned, from the queen mother and the prince, in all which his ſervices had been acknowleged and many promiſes made to him; and concluded with a full proteſtation, that he deſired no pardon for any thing that he had ever done againſt the king; and if there were the leaſt proof that he had failed in his fidelity to him or had not according to the beſt of his underſtanding advanced his ſervice, he look'd for no favour, but of his being in the Iriſh quarters and conſulting with them, without which he could not have made his levies for Scotland, nor tranſported them if he had levied them; and if his living

amongſt them afterwards, when his majeſty was drawn from thence, and when he could live no where elſe, do by the ſtrict letters of the law expoſe him to ruin without his majeſty grace and favour, he did hope his majeſty would redeem him from that miſery; and that the forfeiture of his eſtate, ſhould not be taken, as if he were a traitor and a rebel to the king; and it appeared that if he were reſtored to all he could pretend to, or of which he had ever been poſſeſt, his debts were ſo great, and his creditors had thoſe legal incumbrances upon his eſtate, that his condition at beſt would not be liable to much envy. Tho' the king had been never taken notice of to have any great inclinations to the marquis, who was very little known to him, yet this repreſentation and clear view of what he had done; and what he had ſuffered, raiſed great compaſſion towards him, in the royal breaſt of his majeſty; and he thought it would in ſome degree reflect upon his own honour and juſtice, and upon the memory of his bleſſed father, if in a time when he paſſed by ſo many tranſgreſſions very heinous, he ſhould leave the marquis expoſed to the fury of his enemies, who were only his enemies, becauſe they were poſſeſſed of his eſtate, and becauſe he deſired to have his own from them; for no other crime upon the matter, than for not having that prudence and that providence in his endeavours to ſerve the king, as he ought to have had; that is, he ought to have been wiſer, and the rigour exerciſed towards him upon his firſt arrival in ſending him to the Tower, and afterwards into Ireland by thoſe who enough wiſhed his deſtruction, and that they had not been able to make the leaſt proof againſt him, improved his majeſty's good diſpoſition towards him. Yet he refuſed poſitively to write a letter to the commiſſioners on his behalf,

which

which the marquis moſt importunately deſired, as the only thing that could do him good; but his majeſty directed a letter to be prepared to the lords in which all his allegations and ſuggeſtions ſhould be ſet down, and the truth thereof examined by him; and if he ſhould be found to have committed no greater faults againſt the king, than thoſe which he confeſſed, that then the letters ſhould be ſent to the commiſſioners that they might ſee both their majeſty's teſtimonies in ſuch particulars as were known to themſelves; and this letter was very warily drawn, and being approved by his majeſty was ſent accordingly to the lord lieutenant and ſhortly after a copy of it ſigned by the king, who concieved it only to be a duplicate, leaſt the other ſhould miſcarry, was contrary to his majeſty's reſolution, and contrary to the advice of the chancellor, and without his knowledge likewiſe ſent to the commiſſioners who had thereupon made ſuch a decree, as is before mentioned; and declared that they had made it only upon that ground, which gave his majeſty ſome trouble, and obliged him to inſert a clauſe in the next bill concerning that affair. And this was the whole proceeding that related to the marquis of Antrim, and it is yet very hard to comprehend, wherein there was more favour ſhewed towards him by his majeſty than he might in truth very reaſonably pretend to, what noiſe ſo ever was raiſed, and what gloſſes ſoever made, which proceeded only from the general diſlike of the man, who had much more weakneſs than wickedneſs in him, and was an object rather of pity than of malice or envy.

When his majeſty entered upon the debate of the third bill, which was tranſmitted to him for a ſupplement and addition to the other two, he quickly found the ſettlement propoſed,

propoſed, and which was the end of the three bills, was now grown more difficult than ever. All the meaſures which had formerly been taken from the great proportion of land which would remain to be diſpoſed of, were no more to be relied upon, but appeared to have been a wrong foundation from the beginning, which was now made more deſperate by the vaſt proportions which had been aſſigned to the Iriſh by the commiſſioners decrees: and ſomewhat had intervened by ſome acts of bounty from his majeſty which had not been carefully enough watched and repreſented to him. The king had upon paſſing the former bills, and upon diſcerning how much the Iriſh were like to ſuffer, reſolved to retain all that ſhould by forfeiture or otherwiſe come to his majeſty in his own power; to the end, that when the ſettlement ſhould be made, he might be able to gratifie thoſe of the Iriſh nation, who had done any thing towards him, or had been leaſt faulty; and if he had obſerved that reſolution, very much of the trouble, he underwent afterwards, had been prevented; for he would then beſides that which Cromwell had reſerved to himſelf, which was a vaſt tract of ground, have had all thoſe forfeitures, which the regicides had been poſſeſſed of, and other criminal perſons, which amounted to a huge quantity of the beſt land; and tho' the king had before deſigned all thoſe forfeited lands to his brother the duke, yet his highneſs was ſo pleaſed with the reſolution his majeſty had taken, to retain them to that purpoſe, that he forbore to proſecute that grant, till he heard of great quantities of land every day granted away by his majeſty to his ſervants and others; whereby he ſaw the main end would be diſappointed; and then he reſolved to be no longer a loſer for the benefit of thoſe who had no pretence to what they

got

got, and ſo proceeded in getting that grant from the king to himſelf of thoſe lands deſigned to him. The king had ſwerved from that rule, before it was ſcarce diſcerned, and the error of it may be very juſtly imputed to the earl of Orrery and to none but him, who believing that he could never be well enough at court, except he had courtiers of all ſorts obliged to him, and would therefore ſpeak well of him in all places and companies; and thoſe arts of his put the king to much trouble and loſs both in England and Ireland. He commanded to many ſuch friends (tho' he had adviſed the king to the former reſolution) many ſuits of that kind, and ſent certificates to them often times under his own hand of the value thoſe ſuits might be to them if obtained, and of the little importance the granting of them would be to his majeſty; which having been ſhewn to the king diſpoſed him to thoſe conceſſions, which otherwiſe he would not ſo eaſily have made. Then he directed them a way (being then one of the lord juſtices) for the more immediate paſſing thoſe grants they could obtain without meeting thoſe obſtructions which they had been ſubject to. For when any of thoſe grants had been brought to the great ſeal of England, the chancellor always ſtopped them, and put his majeſty in mind of his former reſolution; but this new way (in itſelf lawfull enough) kept him from knowing any of thoſe tranſactions, which were made by letters from the king to the lord juſtices, and thereupon the grants were prepared there and paſſed under the great ſeal of Ireland. There was likewiſe a new clauſe introduced into thoſe grants of a very new nature, for being grounded always upon letters out of England, and paſſed under the ſeal of Ireland. The letters were prepared and formed there, and tranſmitted hither only for his majeſty's ſign manual, ſo that the king's

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learned council at law, nor any other his miniſters (the ſecretaries only excepted) had any notice or the peruſal of any of thoſe grants. The clauſe was, that if any of thoſe lands ſo granted by his majeſty ſhould be otherwiſe decreed, his majeſty's grantee ſhould be reprized with other lands, ſo that in many caſes the greateſt inducement to his majeſty's bounty being the uncertainty of his own right, which the perſon to whom it was granted, was obliged to vindicate at his own charge, the king was now bound to make it good, if his grant was not valued: and ſo that which was but a contingent bounty, which commonly was the ſole argument for the paſſing it, was now turned into a real and ſubſtantial benefit, as a debt; which created another difficulty in the ſettlement, which was yet more hard; becauſe there were many claims of the Iriſh themſelves yet unheard, all the falſe admeaſurements to be examined, and many other uncertainties to be determined by the commiſſioners, which left thoſe who were in quiet poſſeſſion, as well as thoſe who were out of it, in the higheſt inſecurity and apprehenſion.

This intricacy and even deſpair, which poſſeſſed all kind of people, of any ſettlement, made all of them willing to contribute to any that could be propoſed: They found his majeſty very unwilling to conſent to the repeal of the decrees made by the commiſſioners which muſt have taken away the confidence and aſſurance of whatſoever was to be done hereafter, by making men ſee, that what was ſettled by one act of parliament might immediately be unſettled by another, ſo that there was no hope by that expedient to increaſe the number of acres, which being left might in any degree comply with their ſeveral pretences. The Iriſh found that they might only be able to obſtruct any

ſettlement

ſettlement, but ſhould never be able to get ſuch a one, as would turn to their own ſatisfaction: the ſoldiers and adventurers agreed leſs amongſt themſelves, and the clamour was as great againſt thoſe who by falſe admeaſurements had gotten more than they ſhould have, as from thoſe who had received leſs than was their due, and they who leaſt feared any new examination, could not yet have any ſecurity before all the reſt were ſettled. In a word all men found that any ſettlement would be better than none, and that more profit would ariſe from a ſmaller proportion of land quietly poſſeſſed, and huſbanded accordingly, than of a much greater proportion under a doubtful title and an uncertainty, which muſt diſhearten any induſtry and improvement. Upon thoſe conſiderations and motives they met amongſt themſelves, and debated together by what expedient they might draw light out of this darkneſs; there appeared only one way, which adminiſtered any reaſonable hope; which was by increaſing the ſtock for reprizals to ſuch a degree that all mens pretences might in ſome meaſure be provided for, and there was no other way to arrive to this, but by every man's parting with ſomewhat which he thought to be his own; and to this they had one encouragement that was of the higheſt prevalence with them, which was that this way an end would be put to the unlimited juriſdiction of the commiſſioners (which was very terrible to all of them) who from henceforth could have little other power, than to execute what ſhould here be agreed upon. In concluſion they brought ſuch a propoſition to the king, raiſed and digeſted between themſelves, that all perſons who were to receive any benefit by this act, ſhould abate and give a fourth part of what he had towards the ſtock for reprizals; all which the commiſſioners ſhould

diſtribute amongſt thoſe Iriſh, who ſhould appear moſt fit for his majeſty's bounty; and this agreement was ſo unanimous, that tho' it met with ſome obſtinate oppoſition after it was brought before the king, yet the number of the oppoſers was ſo ſmall in reſpect of the others who agreed to it, that they grew weary and aſhamed of further contention, and thereupon that third act of ſettlement, as ſupplemental to the other two, was conſented to by the king; who to publiſh to the world, that nothing ſtuck with him, which ſeemed to reflect upon the commiſſioners, reſolved to make no change; and ſo tho' two of them, who had offices here to diſcharge, prevailed with his majeſty that they might not return again into Ireland, the other five were continued to execute what was more to be done by this act, and ſo to perfect the ſettlement; and no doubt it will be here ſaid, that this expedient might have been ſooner found, and ſo prevented many of thoſe diſorders and inconveniences which intervened, but they who knew that time, and the perverſeneſs and obſtinacy that poſſeſſed all pretenders muſt confeſs, that the ſeaſon was never ripe before, nor could their conſent and agreement upon which this act was founded, ever be obtained before. Theſe were all the tranſactions which paſſed with reference to Ireland, whilſt the chancellor remained at that board, in which he acted no more than any other of the lords, who were preſent, did, except when any difficulties occur'd in their private meetings and debates, they ſometimes reſorted to him for advice, which he was ready to give, being always willing to take any pains, which might make that very difficult work more eaſie to be brought to a good end; but as he never thought he deſerved any reward for ſo doing, ſo he never expected the benefit of one ſhilling

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in money or in moneyſworth for an thing he ever did in that affair; and was ſo far from entertaining any overture to that purpoſe, that it is notoriouſly known to many perſons of honour, who, I preſume, will be ready to teſtifie the ſame, that when upon his majeſty's firſt return into England, ſome propoſitions were made to him of receiving the grant of ſome forfieted lands, and for the buying other lands there upon the deſire of the owners thereof, and at ſo low a price, that the very profit of the land would in a ſhort time have paid for the purchaſe, and other overtures of immediate benefit in money, which others did, and lawfully might accept, he rejected all propoſitions of that kind, or relating to it; and declared publickly and privately, that he would neither have lands in Ireland, or the leaſt benefit from thence, till all differences and pretences in that kingdom ſhould be ſo fully ſettled and agreed, that there could be no more appeal to the king, or repairing to the king's council for juſtice: in which he ſaid he ſhould never be thought ſo competent an adviſer, if he had any title of his own in that kingdom to buy his inclinations; and he was often heard to ſay, that he never took a firmer reſolution in any particular in his life, than to adhere to that concluſion. Yet becauſe it was notorious, afterwards that he did receive ſome money out of Ireland, and had a lawfull title to receive more (with which he was reproached, when he could not anſwer for himſelf) it may not be amiſs in this place for his vindication to ſet down particularly how that came to paſs, and to mention all the circumſtances which proceeded accompanied, or attended that affair.

In the bills which were firſt tranſmitted from Ireland after his majeſty's happy return there was an impoſition of

a certain ſum of money upon ſome ſpecified lands in ſeveral provinces which were to be paid to his majeſty within a limited time; and to be diſpoſed of by his majeſty to ſuch perſons who had ſerved him faithfully, and ſuffered in ſo doing, or words to that effect; for he often proteſted that he never ſaw the act of parliament, and was moſt confident that he never heard of it at the time when it paſſed; he being often abſent from the council, by reaſon of the gout or other accidents when ſuch matters were tranſacted. But two years after the king's return or thereabouts, he received a letter from the earl of Orrery, that there would be in his hands, and in the earl of Angleſea's, and the lord Mazarines, (who it ſeems were appointed treaſurers to receive the money to be raiſed by that act of parliament) a good ſum of money, which he gave him notice of, to the end that he might give direction for the diſpoſal thereof; whether he would have it returned into England, or laid out in land in Ireland, and he wiſhed that he would ſpeedily ſend his direction; becauſe that he was confident the money would be in, at leaſt by the time that his letter could arrive there. No man can be more ſurprized, than the chancellor was at the receipt of this letter, believing that there was ſome miſtake in it, and that his name might have been uſed in truſt by ſomebody, who had given him no notice of it; and without returning any anſwer to the earl of Orrery, he wrote by that poſt to the lord lieutenant to inform him of what the earl of Orrery had wrote to him, and deſired him to inform him by his own enquiry what the meaning of it was. Before he had an anſwer from the lord lieutenant, or indeed before his letter could come to the lord lieutenant's hands, he received a ſecond letter from the earl of Orrery, in which he informed him that there

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was now paid into his uſe, the ſum of twelve thouſand ſix hundred, and odd pounds; and that there would be the like ſum again received for him at the end of ſix months; and ſent him a particular direction to what perſon and in what form, he was to ſend his order for the payment of the money. The chancellor ſtill forbore to anſwer this letter till he had received an anſwer to what he had written to the lord lieutenant who then informed him at large what title he had to that money, and how he came to have it. That ſhortly after the paſſing that act of parliament which had given his majeſty the diſpoſal of the money before mentioned, the earl of Orrery had come to him the lord lieutenant and putting him in mind how the chancellor had rejected all overtures, which had been made to him of benefit out of that kingdom (which refuſal and many others that ſhew how unſolicitous he had always been in the ways of getting, is not more known to any man living than to the lord lieutenant) wiſhed that he would move the king to confer ſome part of that money upon the chancellor; which the lord lieutenant very willingly did, and his majeſty as chearfully granted; that a letter was accordingly prepared, and his majeſty's royal ſignature procured by Mr. ſecretary Nicholas, who was at the ſame time commanded by the king not to let him know of it; to which purpoſe that there was likewiſe a clauſe in the letter, whereby it was provided that he ſhould have no notice of it; which the lord lieuteuant ſaid was by his majeſty's direction, or with his approbation, becauſe it was ſaid, that if he had notice of it, he would be ſo fooliſh as to obſtruct it himſelf; and there was a clauſe likewiſe in the ſaid letter, which directed the payment of the ſaid money to his heirs, executors or aſſings, if he ſhould die before the receipt thereof,

thereof. The chancellor being ſo fully advertiſed of all this by the lord lieutenant of which till that time he had not the leaſt notice or imagination, he deſired ſecretary Nicholas to give him a copy of that letter (which had been ſince paſſed as a grant to him under the great ſeal of Ireland, according to the form then uſed) which the ſecretary gave him with a large account of many gracious circumſtances in the king's granting it, and the obligation laid upon him of ſecrecy, and the great caution that was uſed that he might have no notice of it. After he was informed of all this, he did not think that there was any thing left for him to do, but to make his humble acknowledgement to his majeſty for his royal bounty, and to take care for the receiving and tranſmitting the money, and doubted not but that he might receive it very honeſtly. He did therefore wait upon his majeſty with that duty that became him, and his majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to enlarge his bounty, with thoſe expreſſions of favour, and of the ſatisfaction he had vouchſafed to take himſelf in conferring his donative, that his joy was much greater from that grace, than in the greatneſs of the gift.

At the very ſame time, and the very day that the chancellor received the letter from the lord lieutenant, the earl of Portland came to him and informed him of a difference, that was fallen out between the lord Lovelace and Sr. Bulſtrode Whitlock, upon a defect in the title to certain lands purchaſed heretofore by Sr. Bulſtrode Whitlock from the lord Lovelace and enjoyed by him ever ſince; but being by the neceſſity of that time, the delinquency of Lovelace, and the power of Whitlock bought and ſold at an undervalue, and the time being now more equal, Lovelace reſolved to have more money, and not to perform a covenant

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he had entered into, the not performance whereof would leave the others title very defective. The earl desired to reconcile those two, which could not be done without sale of the land, and so he proposed to the chancellor by buying this land, which lay near to some land he had in Wiltshire. This proposition being made upon the very day as is said before that he had received the letter from the lord lieutenant of Ireland, by which it appeared that there was near as much money already received for him, as would near pay for that purchase, besides what was more to be received within six months after, the land was well known to the chancellor, so that upon a short conference with the parties, they all agreed upon the purchase, and he was easily prevailed with to undertake the payment of the greatest part of the money upon sealing the writings, not making the least doubt but that he should by that time receive the money from Ireland, which was the sole ground and motive to his making that purchase. But the next letters he recieved from Ireland inform'd him, that the necessities of the kingdom had been such, that they could only return six thousand pounds of that money, but that they had been compelled to make use of the rest for the publick which would take care to repay it to him in a short time, and so he found himself engaged in a purchase which he could not retract, upon presumption of money, which he could not recieve; and he did not only ever after receive one penny of what was due upon the second payment, which he so little suspected could fail, there being an act of parliament for the security, that he assigned it upon the marriage of his second son to him as the best part of his portion, but the remainder of his first sum, which was so borrowed or taken from him, or any part of it, was never after paid to

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him, or to his uſe, by which inconveniences and damage which enſued to him from thence, he might reaſonably ſay, that he was a loſer, and involved in a great debt by that ſignal bounty of his majeſty, and which was afterwards made matter of reproach to him, and as an argument of his corruption. But this is a very true account of that buſineſs and of all the money that he received from Ireland, with all the circumſtances thereof, which in the judgment of all impartial men cannot reflect to the prejudice of his integrity and honour; and ſo we ſhall no further purſue or again reſume any mention of the affairs of Ireland, tho' they will afford a large field of matter, but ſhall return to the beginning of the parliament from whence we departed.

It cannot be expreſſed, hardly imagined with what alacrety the parliament entered upon all particular affairs which might refer to the king's honour, ſafety, or profit. They pulled up all thoſe principles of ſedition and rebellion by the roots, which in their own obſervation had been the ground of or contributed to the odious and infamous rebellion in the long parliament. They declared that ſottiſh diſtinction between the king's perſon and his office to be treaſon, that his negative voice could not be taken from him, and was ſo eſſential to the making a law, that no order or ordinance of either houſe could be binding to the ſubject without it. That the militia was inſeparably veſted in his majeſty and that it was high-treaſon to raiſe or levy ſoldiers without the king's commiſſion, and becauſe the licenſe of ſpeaking ſeditiouſly and of laying ſcandalous imputations and aſperſions upon the perſon of the king, as ſaying that he was a papiſt, and ſuch like terms, to alienate the affections of the people, from his majeſty had

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been the prologue and principal ingredient to that rebellion, and corrupted the hearts of his loving ſubjects, they declared that the raiſing any calumnies of that kind upon the king, as ſaying that he is a papiſt, or popiſhly affected, or the like ſhould be felony; in a word they vindicated all his regalities and royal prerogatives, and provided for the ſafety of his perſon in as loving and ample a manner as he could wiſh, and towards raiſing and ſettling a revenue proportionable to his dignity and neceſſary expence, over and above the confirmation of all that had been done or granted in the laſt convention; they entered upon all the expedients which could occur to them, and were willing to receive propoſitions or advice from any body, that might contribute thereunto. In all thoſe publick matters no man could wiſh a more active ſpirit to be in them, than they were in truth poſſeſſed with; but in that which the king had principally recommended to them, the confirmation of the act of oblivion and indemnity, they proceeded very ſlowly, coldly and unwillingly, notwithſtanding the king's frequent meſſages to them to diſpatch it, tho' with the delay of thoſe other things, which they thought did more immediately concern him, they had many agents and ſolicitors in the court, who thought that what was releaſed by that act might lawfully be diſtributed amongſt them; and ſince the king had refer'd that whole affair to the parliament, he might as well leave it to their judgments without his own interpoſition. But his majeſty looked upon himſelf as under an act of obligation both of honour and conſcience, and upon the thing itſelf, as more for the publick peace and ſecurity, than any thing the parliament could provide inſtead thereof, and therefore was very much troubled and offended at the apparent unwillingneſs to paſs it; and there-

upon he went himſelf to the houſe of peers, and ſent for the commons, and told them that it was abſolutely neceſſary to diſpatch that bill, which he himſelf had ſent to them near two months before; for it was now the 8th of July. His majeſty told them that it was to put himſelf in mind as well as them, that he ſo often, as often as he came to them, mentioned to them his declaration from Breda, and he ſaid, he ſhould put them in mind of another declaration publiſhed by themſelves about that time, and which he was perſuaded made his the more effectual, an honeſt, chriſtian, and generous declaration, ſign'd by the moſt eminent perſons who had been the moſt eminent ſufferers, in which they renounced all former animoſities, all memory of former unkindneſſes, vowed all imaginable good will, and all confidence in each other, all which being preſſed with ſo much inſtance by his majeſty prevailed with them, and they then forthwith diſpatched that bill; and the king as ſoon confirmed it, and would not ſtay a few days till other important bills ſhould be likewiſe ready to be preſented to him; and there cannot be a greater inſtance of their deſire to pleaſe his majeſty from thenceforth, than that before that ſeſſion was concluded, notwithſtanding the prejudice the clergy had brought upon themſelves as I ſaid before, upon their too much good huſbandry in granting leaſes; and tho' the preſbyterian party was not without an intereſt in both houſes of parliament they paſſed a bill for the repeal of that act of parliament by which the biſhops were excluded from ſitting there. It was firſt propoſed in the Houſe of Commons by a gentleman, who had been always taken to be of a preſbyterian family, and in that houſe it found leſs oppoſition than was look'd for; all men knowing, that beſides the juſtice of it, and the prudence

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to wipe out the memory of ſo infamous an act, as the excluſion of them with all the circumſtances, was known to be, it would be grateful to the king; but when it came into the Houſe of Peers, when all men expected it would find a general concurrence, it met with ſome obſtruction, which made a diſcovery of an intrigue that had not been ſuſpected; for tho' there were many lords preſent, who had induſtriouſly laboured the paſſing the former bill for the excluſion, yet they had been likewiſe guilty of ſo many other ill things, of which they were aſhamed, that it was believed that they would not willingly revive the memory of the whole, by perſevering in ſuch an odious particular. Nor in truth did they, but when they ſaw that it would unavoidably paſs (for the number of that party was not conſiderable) they either gave their conſents, as many of them did, or gave their negative without noiſe. The obſtruction came not from thence, the catholicks leſs owned the contradiction, nor were guilty of it, tho' they ſuffered in it; but the truth is, it proceeded from the mercurial brain of the earl of Briſtol (who much affected to be looked upon as the head of the catholics, which they did ſo little deſire that he ſhould be thought, that they very rarely concurred with him) he well knew that the king deſired (which his majeſty never diſſembled) to give the roman catholicks eaſe from all the ſanquinary laws, and that he did not deſire that they ſhould be liable to the other penalties which the law had made them ſubject to, whilſt they ſhould in all other reſpects behave themſelves like good ſubjects. Nor had they ſince his majeſty's return ſuſtained the leaſt prejudice by their religion, but enjoyed as much liberty at court and in the country, as any other men; and with which the wiſeſt of them were abundantly ſatisfied; and

did abhor the activity of thoſe of their own party, which they did believe more like to deprive them of the liberty they enjoyed, than to enlarge it to them: when the earl of Briſtol ſaw this bill brought into the Houſe, for reſtoring the biſhops to their ſeats, he went to the king, and informed his majeſty that if this bill ſhould ſpeedily paſs, it would abſolutely deprive the Catholicks of all thoſe graces and indulgence which he intended to them; for that the biſhops, when they ſhould ſit in the Houſe, whatever their opinions or inclinations were, would find themſelves obliged that they might preſerve their reputation, with the people, to contradict and oppoſe whatſoever ſhould look like favour or connivance towards the catholicks; and therefore if his majeſty continued his former gracious inclination towards the Roman Catholicks he muſt put ſome ſtop (even for the biſhops own ſakes) to the paſſing that bill, till the other ſhould be more advanced, which he ſuppoſed might ſhortly be done, there having been already ſome overtures made to that purpoſe, and a committee appointed in the Houſe of Lords to take a view of all ſanguinary laws in matters of religion, and to preſent them to the Houſe, that it might conſider further of it. The king ſurprized with the diſcourſe from a man, who had often told him the neceſſity of reſtoring the biſhops, and that it could not be a perfect parliament without their preſence, thought his reaſon for the delay to have weight in it, and the delay for a few days could be attended with no prejudice to the matter itſelf; and thereupon was willing the bill ſhould not be called upon, and that when it ſhould be under commitment, that it ſhould be detained there for ſome time; and that he might, the better to produce this delay, tell ſome of his friends that the king would be

well pleaſed that there ſhould not be over much haſte in the preſenting that bill for his royal aſſent. This grew quickly to be taken notice of in the houſe, that after the firſt reading of that bill, it had been put off for a ſecond reading longer than was uſual, when the houſe was at ſo much leaſure, and that now it was under commitment, it was obſtructed there, notwithſtanding all the endeavours ſome lords of the committee could uſe for the diſpatch, the bill containing very few words, being only for the repeal of a former act, and the expreſſions admitting, that is, giving little cauſe for any debate. The chancellor deſired to know how this came to paſs, and was informed by one of the lords of the committee, that they were aſſured that the king would have a ſtop put to it, till another bill ſhould be provided, which his majeſty looked for. Hereupon the chancellor ſpake with his majeſty who told him all the conference which the earl of Briſtol had held with him, and what he had conſented ſhould be done. To which the other replied, that he was ſorry his majeſty had been prevailed with to give any obſtruction to a bill, which every body knew his majeſty's heart was ſo much ſet upon for diſpatch; and that if the reaſon were known it would quickly put an end to all the pretences of the Roman Catholicks, to which his majeſty knew he was no enemy. The king preſently concluded that the reaſon was not ſufficient, and wiſhed that the bill might be diſpatched as ſoon as was poſſible, that he might paſs it that ſeſſion, which he had appointed to make within few days, and ſo the next day the report was called for and made, and the bill ordered to be ingroſſed againſt the next morning, the earl not being at that time in the houſe. But the next morning, when the chancellor had the bill engroſſed in his

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hand, to preſent to the Houſe to be read the third time, the earl came to him to the Woolſack, and with great diſpleaſure and wrath in his countenace told him, that if that bill were ready that day, he would ſpeak againſt it. To which the chancellor gave him an anſwer that did not pleaſe him, and the bill was paſſed that day and from that time the earl of Briſtol was a more avowed and declared enemy to him, than he had before profeſſed to be, tho' the friendſhip that had been between them, had been diſcontinued or broken from the time the earl had changed his religion. The king within few days came to the parliament to give his royal aſſent to thoſe bills which were prepared for him, and then told them, that he did thank them with all his heart, indeed as much as he could for any thing, for the repeal of that act, which excluded the biſhops from ſitting in Parliament. He ſaid it was an unhappy act in an unhappy time, paſſed with many unhappy circumſtances, and attended with miſerable events, and therefore he did again thank them for repeating it, and thereby they had reſtored parliaments to the primitive inſtruction. This was upon the thirteenth of July 1661, when the parliament was adjourned to the twentieth of November following:

Becauſe we have mentioned the gracious purpoſes the king had to his Roman Catholick ſubjects, of which afterwards much uſe was made to his diſſervice, to which the vanity and preſumption of many of that profeſſion contributed very much, it may not be unſeaſonable in this place to mention the ground of that his majeſty's goodneſs; and the reaſons why that purpoſe of his was not proſecuted to the purpoſe it was intended, after ſo fair a riſe towards it, by the appointment of that committee, in the Houſe of Peers,

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which is remembred above. It is not to be wondered at that the king at the age he was of, when the troubles begun in England, and when he came out of England, knew very little of the laws which had been long ſince made, and more ſtill in force againſt Roman Catholics, and leſs of the grounds and motives which had introduced thoſe laws, and from the time that he was firſt beyond the ſeas, he could not be without hearing very much ſpoken againſt the proteſtant religion, the more for extolling and magnifying the religion of the Church of Rome, neither of which diſcourſes made any impreſſion upon him. After the defeat at Worceſter, and his eſcape from thence into France, the queen his mother, who had very punctually complyed with the king, her huſbands injunctions in not ſuffering any body to endeavour to pervert the prince her ſon in his religion; and when he came afterwards into France, after he was king, her majeſty continued the ſame reſervation; but after his majeſty's return and eſcape from Worceſter, the queen uſed much more ſharpneſs in her diſcourſe againſt the Proteſtants than ſhe had been accuſtomed to. The liberty his majeſty formerly had in the Louvre to have a place ſet aſide for the exerciſe of his religion, was taken away, and continual diſcourſes were made by the queen in his preſence, that he had now no hope ever to be reſtored to his dominions, but by the help of the Catholicks, and therefore that he muſt apply himſelf to them in ſuch a way as might induce them to help him. About this time there was a ſhort collection and abridgement made of all the penal laws, which had been made, and which were ſtill in force in England againſt the Roman Catholicks, that all prieſts for ſaying maſs were to be put to death; the great penalties which

they

they were to undergo, who entertained or haboured a prieſt in their houſe, or were preſent at maſs, and the like, with all other envious clauſes, which were in any acts of parliament that had been enacted upon ſeveral treaſons and conſpiracies of the Roman Catholicks in the reigns of queen Elizabeth and king James, and this collection they cauſed to be tranſlated into French and Latin, and ſcattered it abroad in all places, after they had cauſed copies of it to be preſented to the queen mother of France, and to the cardinal; ſo that the king came into no place, where thoſe papers were not ſhewed to him, and when he was not ſeriouſly aſked, whether it was a true collection of the laws of England, and whether it was poſſible that any chriſtian kingdom could exerciſe ſo much tyranny againſt the Catholick religion. The king who had never heard of thoſe particulars, did really believe that the paper was forged, and anſwered he did not believe that there were ſuch laws; and when he came to his lodging, he gave the chancellor the paper, and bade him read it, and tell him whether ſuch laws were in force in England. He had heard before of the ſcattering of theſe papers, and knew well who had made the collection, who had been a lawyer, and was a Proteſtant, but had too good an opinion of the Roman Catholicks, and deſired too much to be grateful to them. The chancellor found an opportunity next day to enlarge upon the paper to his majeſty and informed him of the ſeaſons in which, and the occaſions and provocations upon which theſe laws had been made, of the frequent treaſons and conſpiracies which had been entered into by ſome Roman Catholicks always with the privity and approbation of their prieſt and confeſſors againſt the perſon and life of queen Elizabeth, and after her death of the infamous and

deteſtable gun-powder treaſon to have deſtroyed king James and his poſterity with the whole nobility of the kingdom, ſo that in thoſe times the pope having excommunicated the whole kingdom, and abſolved the ſubjects from all their oaths of fidelity, there ſeemed no expedient to preſerve the crown; but the uſing thoſe ſeverities againſt thoſe, who were profeſſed enemies to it; but that ſince thoſe times, that the Roman Catholicks had lived quietly, that rigour had not been uſed, and that the king his father's clemency towards thoſe of that profeſſion, which clemency extended no further, than the diſpenſing with the utmoſt rigour of the laws, was the ground of the ſcandal of his being popiſhly affected, that contributed as much to his ruin, as any particular malice in the worſt of his enemies.

The king hearkened attentively to all that was ſaid, and then anſwered that he could not doubt, but there was ſome very extraordinary reaſon for the making ſuch ſtrange laws, but whatever the reaſon then was, that it was at preſent, and for many years paſt had been very evident that there was no ſuch malignity in the Roman Catholicks, that ſhould continue that heavy yoke upon their necks; that he knew well enough that if he were in England, he had not himſelf the power to repeal any act of Parliament without the conſent of Parliament, but that he knew no reaſon, why he might not profeſs that he did not like thoſe laws, which cauſed men to be put to death for their religion; and that he would do his beſt, if ever God reſtored him to his kingdom, that thoſe bloody laws might be repealed; and that if there were no other reaſon of ſtate, than what he could yet comprehend againſt the taking away the other penalties, he ſhould be glad that all thoſe diſtinctions between his

ſubjects might be removed; and that whilſt they were all equally good ſubjects, they might equally enjoy his protection: and his majeſty did frequently, when he was in the courts of Catholick Princes, and when he was ſure to hear the ſharpneſs of the laws in England inveighed againſt, enlarge upon the ſame diſcourſe; and it had been a very unſeaſonable preſumption in any man, who would have endeavoured to have diſſuaded him, from entertaining that candour in heart. With this gracious diſpoſition his majeſty returned into England, and received his Catholick ſubjects with the ſame grace and frankneſs, that he did his other; and they took all opportunities to extoll their own ſufferings, which they would have underſtood to have been for him; and ſome very noble perſons there were, who had ſerved his father very worthily in the war, and ſuffered as largely afterwards for having done ſo; but the number of thoſe was not great, but much greater than of thoſe, who ſhewed any affection to him, or for him, during the time of his abſence, and the government of the uſurper. Yet ſome few there were, even of thoſe who had ſuffered moſt for his father, who did ſend him ſupply when he was abroad, tho' they were hardly able to provide neceſſaries for themſelves; and in his eſcape from Worceſter, he received extraordinary benefit by the fidelity of many poor people of that religion, which his majeſty was never reſerved in the remembrance of, and this gracious diſpoſition in him, did not then appear ungrateful to any, and then upon an addreſs made to the Houſe of Peers, in the name of the Roman Catholicks, for ſome relaxation of thoſe laws, which were ſtill in force againſt them, the Houſe of Peers appointed that committee, which is mentioned before, to examine and report all thoſe penal ſtatutes, which

which reached to the taking away the life of any Roman Catholick prieſt or layman for his religion, there not appearing one lord in the Houſe, who ſeemed to be unwilling that thoſe laws ſhould be repealed; and after that committee was appointed, the Roman Catholick lords and their friends for ſome days diligently attended it, and made their obſervations upon ſeveral acts of parliament in which they deſired eaſe, but on a ſudden this committee was diſcontinued, and never after revived, the Roman catholicks never afterwards being ſolicitous for it. The argument was now to be debated amongſt themſelves, that they might agree what would pleaſe them, and then there quickly appeared ſomething that diſcovered an animoſity between them, that never was, nor ever will be extinguiſhed, and of which the ſtate might make much other uſe than it hath done. The lords and men of eſtates were not ſatisfied in that they obſerved the good nature of the Houſe did not appear to extend further, than the aboliſhing thoſe laws which concerned the lives of the prieſts, which did not much affect them. For beſides that thoſe ſpectacles were no longer grateful to the people, they were confident that they ſhould not be without men to diſcharge theſe functions, and the number of ſuch was more grievous to them than the ſecurity. That which they deſired was the removal of thoſe laws, which being left looſe would deprive them of ſo much of their eſtates, that the remainder would not preſerve them from poverty. This indulgence would indeed be grateful to them, for the other they cared not: nor were the eccleſiaſticks at all pleaſed with what was propoſed for their advantage, but looked upon themſelves as deprived of the honour of martyrdom by this remiſſion, and that they might undergo reſ-

traints which would be more grievous than death itſelf; and they were very apprehenſive that there would remain ſome order of them excluded, as there was even a moſt univerſal prejudice againſt the Jeſuits; or that there would be ſome limitation of their numbers, which they knew well the Catholicks in general would be very glad of, tho' they could not appear to deſire. There was a committee choſen amongſt them, of the ſuperiors of all orders, and of the ſecular clergy, that ſate at Arundel-Houſe, and conſulted together with ſome of the principal lords and others of the prime quality of that religion, what they ſhould ſay or do in ſuch and ſuch caſes, which might probably fall out. They all concluded, at leaſt apprehended, that they never ſhould be diſpenſed with, in reſpect of the oaths which were injoyned to be taken by all men, without their ſubmitting to take ſome other oath, that might be an equal ſecurity of and for their fidelity to the king, and the preſervation of the peace of the kingdom. And there had been lately ſcattered abroad ſome printed papers, written by ſome regular and other ſecular clergy, with ſober propoſitions to that purpoſe, and ever the form of an oath and ſubſcription to be taken and made by all Catholicks, in which there was an abſolute renunciation and declaration againſt the temporal authority of the pope, which in all common diſcourſes amongſt the Proteſtants all Roman Catholicks made no ſcruple to renounce and diſclaim. But it coming now to be the ſubject matter of the debate in this committee, the Jeſuits declared with much warmth, that they ought not, nor could they with a good conſcience as Catholicks deprive the pope of his temporal authority, which he hath in all kingdoms granted to him by God himſelf, with very much to that purpoſe, with

which moſt of the temporal lords, and very many of the ſeculars and regulars were ſo much ſcandalized, that the committee being broken up for that time, they never attended it again. The wiſer and the more conſcientious men diſcerned that there was a ſpirit in the reſt that was raiſed and governed by a paſſion, of which they could not comprehend the ground. And the truth is, the Jeſuits and they who adhered to them, had entertained great hopes from the king's too much grace to them, and from the great liberty they enjoyed, and promiſed themſelves and their friends another kind of indulgence, than they ſaw was intended to them by the Houſe of Peers, and this was the reaſon, that that committee was no more looked after, nor any publick addreſſes was any further proſecuted: and from this time there was every day ſo much inſolence appeared and indiſcretion amongſt the imprudent Catholicks, that they brought many ſcandals upon his majeſty and kindled ſo much jealouſy in the parliament, that there grew a general averſion towards them, and the king's party remembered with what warineſs and diſregard the Roman Catholicks had lived towards them in the whole time of the uſurpation; and how little ſorrow they made ſhew of upon the horrid murder of the king (which was then exceedingly taken notice of,) and they who had been abroad with the king, remembered his majeſty had received leſs regard and reſpect from his Catholick ſubjects, and wherever he found them abroad, than from any other foreign Catholicks, who always received him with all imaginable duty, whilſt his own looked as if they had no dependance upon him: and ſo we return to the parliament after its adjournment.

The parliament that had been adjourned upon the thirtieth of July met again upon the twentieth of November with the ſame zeal and affection to advance the king's ſervice; and the king himſelf came to them the ſame day they met, and told them that he knew that viſit was not of courſe; yet if there were no more in it, it would not be ſtrange, that he came to ſee, what he and they had ſo long deſired to ſee, the lords ſpiritual and temporal and the commons of England met together, to conſult for the peace and ſafety of the church and ſtate; by which parliaments were reſtored to their primitive luſtre and integrity. His majeſty ſaid he did heartily congratulate with them for that day, but he told them withall that he came thither upon another occaſion, which was to ſay ſomewhat to them on his own behalf, to aſk ſomewhat of them for himſelf, which was more than he had done of them or of thoſe who met before them, ſince his coming into England. Nor did he think that what he had to ſay to them, did alone or moſt concern himſelf, if the uneaſie condition he was in, if the ſtreights and neceſſities he was to ſtruggle with did not manifeſtly relate to the publick peace and ſafety, more than to his own particular, otherwiſe than as he was concerned in the publick, he would not give that trouble that day: he could bear his neceſſities which merely related to himſelf with patience enough. He told them that he did not importune to make more haſte in the ſettling the conſtant revenue of the crown, than was agreable to the method, they had propoſed to themſelves; nor to conſider the unſupportable weight that lay upon it, the obligations it lay under to provide for the intereſt, honour and ſecurity of the nation in another proportion than in any former times it had been obliged to. His majeſty well knew

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that they had very affectionately and worthily taken all that into their hearts, and would proceed in it with expedition, but that he came to put them in mind of the crying debts, which did every day call upon him; of ſome neceſſary proviſions which were to be made without delay for the very ſafety of the kingdom; of the great ſum of money that ſhould be ready to diſcharge the ſeveral fleets when they came home; and for the neceſſary preparations that were to be made for the ſetting out new fleets to ſea againſt the next ſpring; theſe were the preſſing occaſions which he was forced to recommend to them with all poſſible earneſtneſs, and he did conjure them to provide for, as ſpeedily as was poſſible, and in ſuch a manner as might give them ſecurity at home, and ſome reputation abroad. His majeſty ſaid that he made this diſcourſe to them with ſome confidence, becauſe he was very willing and deſirous, that they ſhould thoroughly examine, whether thoſe neceſſities, which he mentioned, were real or imaginary, or whether they were fallen upon him by his own fault, his own ill managery, and exceſſes, and provide for them accordingly. He was very willing that they ſhould make a full inſpection into his revenue, as well the diſburſements as the receipts; and if they ſhould find that it had been ill managed by any corruptions in the officers he truſted, or by his own unthriftneſs, he ſhould take the advice and information they ſhould give him very kindly. He told them that he was very ſorry that the general temper and affections of the nation were not ſo full compoſed, as he hoped they would have been, after ſo ſignal bleſſings from God Almighty upon them all, and after ſo great indulgence and condeſcenſions from him towards all their intereſts; but as there were many wicked inſtruments ſtill as active as

ever,

ever, who laboured night and day to diſturb the publick peace, and to make all people jealous of each other, it would be worth their care and vigilence to provide proper remedies for the diſeaſes of that kind; and if they ſhould find new diſeaſes, they muſt ſtudy new remedies. For thoſe difficulties which concerned matters in religion, his majeſty confeſſed to them that they were too hard for him, and therefore he did recommend them to their care and diſcretion, which could beſt provide for them. The two Houſes were abundantly pleaſed with all that his majeſty had ſaid to them, and immediately betook themſelves to the conſideration of thoſe particulars which he had principally recommended to them; and tho' for the preſent they looked upon that clauſe of his majeſty's ſpeech, wherein he referred them to make an inſpection into his revenue and his expences, but as a generous and princely condeſcenſion, which would not become them to make uſe of, nor indeed had they at that time the leaſt prejudice to or jealouſy of any who were of the neareſt truſt about his majeſty; yet four years after, when the expences had grown to be much greater, and it may be all diſburſements not ſo warrantable, and when the factions in courts and parliament were at a great height, and men made uſe of publick pretences to ſatisfy their private animoſities and malice, they made uſe of that frank offer of his majeſty to intitle themſelves to make inquiſition into publick and private receipts and diſburſements in a very extraordinary manner never practiced before. Let no man wonder that within ſo little time as within a year and a half or very little more after the king's return, that is from May to November in the next year, and after ſo great ſums of money raiſed by act of parliament upon the people, his majeſty's

debts

debts could be ſo crying and importunate, as to diſturb him to that degree as he expreſſed; it was never enough underſtood, that in all that time he never received from the parliament more than the ſeventy thouſand pounds towards his coronation nor were the debts, which were now ſo grievous to him, contracted by himſelf; (tho' it cannot be ſuppoſed but that he had contracted debts for himſelf in that time.) All the money that had been given and raiſed had been applied to the payment of the land and ſea forces, and had done neither. Parliaments do ſeldom make their computations right; but reckon what they give to be more than is ever received, and what they are to pay to be as much leſs than in truth they owe, ſo that when all the money, that was collected was paid, there remained ſtill very much due to the ſoldiers, and much more to the ſeamen, and the clamour from both, reached the king's ears, as if they had been levied by his warrant, and for his ſervice; and his majeſty underſtood too well by the experience of the ill huſbandry of the laſt year, when both the army and the ſhips were ſo long continued in pay for want of money to diſband and pay them off, what the trouble and charge would be, if the ſeveral fleets ſhould return, before money was provided to diſcharge the ſeamen; and for that the clamour would be only upon him. But there was an expence that he had been engaged in from the time of his return, and by which he had contracted a great debt of which very few men could take notice, nor could the king himſelf think fit to diſcover, till he had firſt provided againſt the miſchief, which might have attended the diſcovery. It will hardly be believed that in ſo warlike an age, and when the armies and fleets of England had made more noiſe

in the world for twenty years, and fought more battles at land and ſea, than all the world had done beſides, or any one people had done in any age before, and when at his majeſty's return there remained a hundred ſhips at ſea, and an army of near threeſcore thouſand men at land, there ſhould not lie in the Tower of London, and in all the ſtores belonging to the crown, fire arms enough, nor indeed of any other kind to arm three thouſand men, nor powder and naval proviſions enough to ſet out five ſhips of war. From the death of Cromwell no care had been taken for ſupplies of any of the ſtores, and the changes which inſued in the government and putting out and in new officers, the expeditions of Lambert againſt Sir George Booth, and afterwards into the north, and other preparations for thoſe factions and parties which ſucceeded each other, and the continual opportunities which the officers had for imbezzlement, and laſtly the ſetting out that fleet which was put to attend upon the king for his return, had ſo totally drained the ſtores of all kinds, that the magazines were no better repleniſhed than is mentioned before. Which as ſoon as his majeſty knew, as he could not be long ignorant of it, the firſt care he took was to conceal it, that it might not be known abroad or at home, in how ill a poſture he was to defend himſelf againſt an enemy; and then he committed the care of that Province to a noble perſon, whom he knew he could not truſt too much, and made Sir William Compton maſter of the ordnance; and made all the ſhifts he could deviſe for money, that the work might be begun; and hereby he had inſenſibly contracted a great debt, and theſe were part of the crying debts, and the neceſſary proviſions which were to be made without delay for the very ſafety of the kingdom, which he

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told the parliament; and in this he had laboured ſo effectually, that at the time when the firſt Dutch war was entered into, all the ſtores were more completely ſupplied and provided for, and all naval proviſions in greater ſtrength and plenty, than they had ever been in the reign of any former king, or in the time of the uſurper himſelf.

That part of the king's ſpeech of the diſtempers in the nation by the differences in religion, which he confeſſed were too hard for him, and recommended the compoſing them to their care and deliberation, gives me a ſeaſonable opportunity to enter upon the relation how that affair ſtood at that time, and how far the diſtractions of thoſe ſeveral factions were from being reconciled, tho' epiſcopacy ſeemed to be fully reſtored, and the biſhops to their votes in parliament which had been looked upon as the moſt ſovereing remedy to cure, reform, or extinguiſh all thoſe maladies. The biſhops had ſpent the vacation in making ſuch alterations in the book of Common Prayer, as they thought would make it more grateful to the diſſenting brethren, for ſo the ſchiſmatical party called themſelves, and ſuch additions as in their judgements the preſent time, and the paſt miſcarriages required. It was neceſſarily to be preſented to the convocation, which is the national ſynod of the church, and that did not ſit during the receſs of the parliament, and ſo came not together till the end of November; where the conſideration of it took up much time all men offering ſuch alterations and additions, as were ſuitable to their own fancies, and the obſervations which they had made in the time of confuſion. The biſhops were not all of one mind, ſome of them who had greateſt experience, and were in truth wiſe men, thought it beſt to reſtore and confirm the old book of Common Prayer without

any alterations or additions, and that it would be the beſt vindication the liturgy and government of the church could receive, that after ſo many ſcandals and reproaches caſt upon both, and after a bloody rebellion and war of twenty years, raiſed, as was pretended, principally againſt both, and which had prevailed and triumphed in the total ſuppreſſion and deſtruction of both, they ſhould now be reſtored to be in all reſpects the ſame they had been before. Whereas any alterations and additions, beſides the advantage it might give to the common adverſary the Papiſt, who would be apt to ſay, we had changed and reformed our religion again, would raiſe new ſcruples in the factions and ſchiſmatical party, that was aſhamed of all the old arguments, which had been ſo often anſwered and ſtood at preſent exploded in the judgement of all ſober men, but would recover new ſpirits to make new objections, and complain that the alterations and additions are more grievous and burthenſome to the liberty of their conſcience, than thoſe of which they had formerly complained. Others, equally grave, of great learning and unblemiſhed reputation, preſſed earneſtly both for the alterations and additions, ſaid, that it was a common reproach upon the government of the church, that it would not depart from the leaſt unneceſſary expreſſion or word, nor explain the moſt inſignificant ceremony, which would quiet and remove the doubts and jealouſies of many conſcientious men: that they did in truth ſignify ſomewhat that was not intended and therefore ſince ſome powerful men of that troubleſome party had made it their earneſt requeſt, that ſome ſuch alterations and additions might be made, and profeſſed that it would give great ſatisfaction to many very good men, it would be great pity, now there was a fit opportunity

tunity for it, which had not been in former times of clamour, not to gratify them in thoſe ſmall particulars, which did not make any important difference from what was before. It may be there were ſome, who believed that the victory and triumph of the church would be with the more luſtre, if ſomewhat were inſerted, that might be underſtood to reflect upon the rude and rebellious behaviour of the late times, which had been regulated and conducted by that clergy, and ſo both additions and alterations were made. But the truth is, what ſhew of reaſon ſoever, and appearance of charity the later opinion ſeemed to carry with it, the former advice was the more prudent, and would have prevented many inconveniences which enſued. Whatever had been pretended or deſired, the alterations which were made to pleaſe them, did not reduce one of them to the obedience of the church, and the additions raiſed the clamour higher than it had been, and when it was evident that they ſhould not be left longer without a liturgy, they cried aloud for the ſame they had before, tho' they had inveighed againſt it for near a hundred years together. It is an unhappy policy, and always unhappily applied, to imagine that that claſſis of men can be recovered and reconciled by partial conceſſions, or granting leſs than they demand, and if all were granted, they would have more to aſk, ſomewhat as a ſecurity for the enjoyment of what is granted, that ſhall preſerve their power, and ſhake the whole frame of the government. Their faction is their religion nor are thoſe combinations ever entered into upon real and ſubſtantial motives of conſcience how erroneous ſoever, but conſiſts of many glutinous materials of will, and humours, and folly, and knavery and ambition and malice, which makes men cling inſeparably together, till they have ſatisfaction

faction in all their pretences, or till they are abſolutely broken and ſubded, which may be always more eaſily done than the other; and if ſome few, how ſignal ſoever (which often deceives us) are ſeparated and divided from the head, upon reaſonable overtures and ſecret rewards, which make the overtures look the more reaſonable, they are but ſo many ſingle men, and have no more credit and authority (whatever they had) with their companions, than if they had never known them; rather leſs, being leſs mad than they were, makes them thought to be leſs fit to be beleived, and they who you think you have recovered, carry always a chagrin about them, which makes them good for nothing, but for inſtances to divert you from any more of that kind of traffick: and it is very ſtrange that the clergy did not at this time remember what had ſo lately befallen the poor church of Scotland upon the tranſmiſſion of the liturgy, which had been compoſed with this very proſpect, that now dazled their eyes. To receive a liturgy from England was below the dignity of that nation, which were governed by their own laws, without dependance upon any other, beſides there were many errors in that liturgy, that they could never ſubmit to, and ſome defects which ought to be ſupplied, and if ſuch a one ſhould be compoſed in which all theſe exceptions, which were well enough known might be provided for, they would gladly receive it. All this was carefully performed, and what reception it had afterwards is too well known, and will ever be remembered by the ſcars, which remain ſtill from thoſe wounds; and then the great objection, that was moſt impudently urged, was, that it differed from the liturgy of the church of England, which they were ready to have received, and would have declared to the world that the two nations had but

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one religion; whereas the book ſent to them would have manifeſted the contrary, and was the product of a few particular men, to whoſe ſpirit and humour they would not ſacrifice their native liberty of conſcience. They of the ſame fraternity in England at this preſent, governed themſelves by the ſame method, tho' God be thanked, not yet with the ſame ſucceſs; and there is great reaſon to beleive, that the very men, who laboured ſo much for the alterations which were made, and profeſſed to receive ſo much ſatisfaction in them, did it for no other end, but to procure more opportunity to continue and enlarge the contentions, and to gain excuſe and credit to the ill things they had done, by redreſs and reparation that was given them, in the amendment of many particulars, againſt which they had always complained. There was not one of them, who had uſed that importunity and made that profeſſion, who afterwards was conformable to the government of the church, or frequented thoſe churches, where and when the liturgy was uſed.

Whilſt the clergy was buſy and ſolicitous to prepare this remedy for the preſent diſtempers, the people of all the ſeveral factions in religion aſſumed more licenſe than they ever had done. The Preſbyterians in all their pulpits inveighed againſt the book of Common Prayer, that they expected, and took the ſame liberty to inveigh againſt the government of the church, as they had been accuſtomed to before the return of the king, with reflection upon the perſons of the biſhops, as if they aſſumed a juriſdiction, that was yet at leaſt ſuſpended, and the other factions in religion, as if by concert, took the ſame liberty in their ſeveral congregations. The Anabaptiſts and the Quakers made more noiſe than ever, and aſſembled together

gether in greater numbers, and talked what reformations they expected in all particulars. Thoſe inſolencies offended the parliament very much, and the Houſe of Commons expreſſed much impatience that the liturgy was ſo long in preparation, that the act of uniformity might without delay be paſſed and publiſhed, not without ſome inſinuations and reflections, that his majeſty's candour and admiſſion of all perſons to reſort to his preſence, and his condeſcenſion to confer with them, had raiſed their ſpirits to an inſolence inſupportable; and that nothing could reduce them to the temper of good ſubjects, but the higheſt ſeverity. It is very true from the time of his majeſty's coming into England, he had not been reſerved in the admiſſion of thoſe, who had been his greateſt enemies, to his preſence, the Preſbyterian miniſters he received with grace and did believe that he ſhould work upon them by perſuaſions, having been well acquainted with their common arguments by the converſation he had had in Scotland; and was very able to confute them. The independants had as free acceſs, both that he might hinder any conjunction between the other factions, and becauſe they ſeemed wholly to depend upon his majeſty's will and pleaſure, without reſorting to the parliament in which they had no confidence, and had rather that epiſcopacy ſhould flouriſh again, than the Preſbyterians ſhould govern. The king had always admitted the Quakers for his divertiſement and mirth, becauſe he thought that of all the factions they were the moſt innocent, and had leaſt of malice in their natures againſt his perſon, and his government; and it was now too late tho' he had a worſe opinion of them all, to reſtrain them from coming to him, till there ſhould be ſome law made to puniſh them, and therefore he ſtill called upon the biſhops to

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cauſe the liburgy to be expedited in the convocation, and finding that thoſe diſtempers had that influence upon the Houſe of Commons, that the diſpleaſure and jealouſie, which they concieved from thence, did retard their councils, and made them leſs ſolicitous to advance his ſervice in the ſettling his revenue, they having ſate near three months after their coming together again upon their adjournment, without making any conſiderable progreſs in it, he ſent for the Speaker and the Houſe of Commons to attend him at Whitehall, where he ſpake unto them, tho' very graciouſly, in a ſtyle that ſeemed to have more of expoſtulation and reprehenſion, than they had been accuſtomed to. He ſaid he ſpake his heart to them, when he told them, that he did believe that from the firſt inſtitution of parliament to that hour, there had never been a Houſe of Commons fuller of affection and duty to their king, than they were to him, never any that was more deſirous and ſolicitous to gratify their king, than they were to oblige him; never a Houſe of Commons, in which there were fewer perſons without a full meaſure of zeal for the honour and welfare of the king and country, than there are in this; in a word, he ſaid he knew moſt of their perſons and names, and could never hope to find better men in their places. Yet after all this he could not but lament, and even complain, that he and they and the kingdom, were yet without that preſent fruit and advantage, which they might reaſonably promiſe themſelves from ſuch a harmony of affections, and unity in reſolution to advance the publick ſervice; and to provide for the peace and ſecurity of the kingdom, that they did not expedite thoſe good councils which were moſt neceſſary for both. He knew not how

it came to paſs; but for many weeks paſt, even ſince their laſt adjournment, private and particular buſineſs had almoſt thruſt the conſideration of the publick out of doors; and he did not know that they were nearer ſettling his revenue, than they had been at Chriſtmas. He was ſure he had communicated his condition to them without reſerve, what he had coming in, and what his neceſſary diſburſements were, and he ſaid he was exceedingly deceived, if whatever they gave him, were any otherwiſe given to him, than to be iſſued out for their own uſe and benefit; and if they conſidered it well, they would find that they were the richer by what they gave, ſince it was all to be laid out, that they might enjoy the reſt in peace and ſecurity. He ſaid he need not put them in mind of the miſerable effects that had attended the wants and neceſſities of the Crown. That he needed not to tell them that there was a republican party ſtill in the kingdom, which had the courage ſtill to promiſe themſelves another revolution; and he thought he had as little need to tell them, that the only way with God's bleſſing to diſappoint their hopes, and indeed to reduce them from thoſe extravagant hopes and deſires, was, to let them ſee, that they had ſo provided for the Crown, that it had wherewithall to ſupport itſelf, and to ſecure his people, which he was ſure was all he deſired; and deſired only for their preſervation. Therefore he conjured them by all the profeſſions of affection which they had made to him, by all the kindneſs which he knew they had for him, that they would, after all their deliberation, betake themſelves to ſome ſpeedy reſolutions, and ſettle ſuch a real and ſubſtantial revenue upon him, as might hold ſome proportion with the ne-

ceſſary expences he was at, for the peace and benefit and honour of the kingdom: that they who looked for troubles at home, might deſpair of their wiſhes; and that our neighbours abroad, by ſeeing that all is well at home, might have that eſteem and value of his majeſty as might ſecure the honour and intereſt of the nation, and make the happineſs of the kingdom and that city once more the admiration and envy of the world. He told them that he heard they were very jealous for the Church, and very ſolicitous and even jealous that there was not expedition enough uſed in that affair. He thanked them for it, ſince he preſumed that it proceeded from a good root of piety and devotion. But he ſaid, that he muſt tell them, that he had the worſt luck in the world, if after all the reproaches of being a Papiſt whilſt he was abroad, he was ſuſpected to be a Preſbyterian now he was come home. He knew they would not take it unkindly, if he told them that he was as jealous for the Church of England, as any of them could be, and was enough acquainted with the enemies of it on all ſides: that he was as much in love with the Book of Common Prayer, as they could wiſh, and had prejudice enough to thoſe who did not love it, who he hoped in time would be better informed, and ſo change their minds; and they might be confident, he did as much deſire to have a uniformity ſettled, as any man amongſt them. He prayed them to truſt him in that affair, and promiſed them to haſten the diſpatch of it with all convenient ſpeed: they might rely upon him in it. He ſaid he had tranſmitted the Book of Common Prayer with thoſe alterations and additions which had been preſented to him by the convocation, to the Houſe of Peers with his approbation, that the act of uniformity, might relate to it: ſo that he pre-

ſumed that it would ſhortly be diſpatched there; and that when they had done all they could; he ſaid the well ſettling that affair would require great prudence and diſcretion, and the abſence of all paſſion and precipitation. His majeſty concluded with aſſuring them, that he did promiſe himſelf great fruits from that converſation he had with them, and that they would juſtify the confidence he had in their affections, by letting the world ſee, that they took his concernment to heart, and were ready to do, whatſoever he deſired for the peace and welfare of the kingdom.

When the Book of Common Prayer was by the king's command preſented to the Houſe of Lords by the two Arch-Biſhops (for it had been approved as well by the convocation of the province of York as well as of that of Canterbury) confirmed by his majeſty under the great Seal of England, the Book itſelf took up no debate, only the earl of Northumberland propoſed, that the old Book of Common Prayer might be confirmed without any alteration or addition, and then the ſame act of uniformity, that had been in the time of queen Elizabeth, would be likewiſe apply'd to it, whereas a new act of uniformity might take up much time, and raiſe much debate, all which would be avoided by adhering to the old. Whatever that lords opinion was, he was known to be of the Preſbyterian party, and it was anſwered, that if that propoſition had been heartily made when the king came into England, it would have met with a general approbation, and prevented much ſharpneſs and animoſity, which had ſince riſen by thoſe who oppoſed that excellent form; but after their clergy had ſo bitterly inveighed againſt many parts thereof, and prevailed with his majeſty to ſuſpend the uſe of it, till it might be reviſed, as by his declaration of the five and twentieth of October he

had done, and thereupon had granted his commiſſion under the great Seal of England to ſeveral biſhops and other divines to review the Book of Common Prayer, and to prepare ſuch alterations and additions as they thought fit to offer; and that afterwards his majeſty had been pleaſed to authoriſe the convocation of both the province of Canterbury and York, called and aſſembled by his majeſty's authority, to review the ſaid Book of Prayer, and the Book of the form and manner of the making and conſecrating of biſhops, prieſts, and deacons; and that now after the biſhops and clergy of both provinces had upon great deliberation, and upon review of thoſe Books prepared and conſented to ſome alterations, and to the addition of ſeveral prayers to be uſed upon emergent occaſions, all which his majeſty had already ratifyed and confirmed, it could not but be underſtood matter of great levity and offence to reject this Book, that was now with all this ceremony and ſolemnity preſented, for no other reaſon, but becauſe they like better the old Book, which had been for twenty years diſcontinued and rejected; and therefore it was moved that there might not be ſuch an affront put upon the convocation and upon the king himſelf; and ſo with little more publick conteſt, the Book itſelf was conſented and ſubmitted to. But then the act of uniformity depended long, and took up much debate in both Houſes, in the Houſe of Peers, where the act firſt begun, there were many things inſerted, which had not been contained in the former act of uniformity, and ſo ſeemed to carry ſomewhat of novelty in it. It admitted no perſon to have any cure of ſouls, or any eccleſiaſtical dignity in the Church of England, but ſuch who had been or ſhould be ordained prieſt or deacon by ſome biſhop that is, who had not epiſcopal

copal ordination, excepting only the miniſters or paſtors of the French and Dutch Churches in London and other places allowed by the king, who ſhould enjoy the privileges they had. This was new, for there had been many, and at preſent there were ſome, who poſſeſſed benefices with cure of ſouls and other eccleſiaſtical promotions, who had never recieved orders, but in France, or in Holland; and theſe men muſt now receive new ordination, which had been always held unlawful in the Church; or by this act of parliament muſt be deprived of their livelyhood, which they enjoyed in the moſt flouriſhing and peaceable time of the Church; and therefore it was ſaid, that this had not been the opinion of the Church of England: and that it would lay a great reproach upon all other Proteſtant Churches, who had no Biſhops, as if they had no miniſters; and conſequently were no Churches; for that it was well known, the Church of England did not allow reordination, as the antient Church never admitted it. Inſomuch as if any prieſt of the Church of Rome renounced the communion thereof, his ordination is not queſtioned, but he is as capable of any preferment in this Church, as if he had been ordained in it; and therefore the not admitting miniſters to have the ſame privelege can proceed from no other ground, than that they looked not upon them as miniſters, having no ordination, which is a judgment the Church of England had not ever owned, and that it would be very imprudent to do it now. To this it was anſwered, that the Church of England judged none but her own children: nor did determine that other Proteſtant Churches were without ordination, it is a thing without their cogniſance. And moſt of the learned men of thoſe Churches had made neceſſity the chief pillar to ſupport that ordination of theirs:

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that neceſſity cannot be pleaded here, where ordination is given according to the unqueſtionable practice of the Church; and if they who pretend foreign ordination are his majeſty's ſubjects, they have no excuſe of neceſſity, for they might in all times have received epiſcopal ordination, and ſo they did upon the matter renounce their own Church. If they are ſtrangers and pretend to preferment in this Church, they ought to conform and be ſubject to the laws of the kingdom, which concern only thoſe, who deſire to live under their protection. For the argument of reordination, there is no ſuch thing required, rebaptization is not allowed in or by any Church, yet in all Churches, where it is doubted, as it may be often with very good reaſon, whether the perſon hath been baptiſed or no, or if it hath been baptiſed by a midwife or lay perſon, without determining the validity or invalidity of ſuch baptiſm, there is an hypothetical form, "If thou haſt not been already baptized, I do "baptize" &c. ſo in this caſe of ordination and form is and may be the ſame "If thou haſt not been already ordained "then I do ordain" &c. If his former ordination were good, this is void, if the other was invalid or defective, he hath reaſon to be glad that this is thus ſupplied. After much debate that clauſe remained ſtill in the act, and very many, who had received Preſbyterian orders in the late times came very willingly to be ordained in the manner aforeſaid by a biſhop, and very few choſe to quit or loſe a parſonage or vicaridge of any value upon that ſcruple.

There was another clauſe in the bill, that made very much noiſe afterwards, tho' for the preſent it took not up ſo much time, and in truth was little taken notice of. That is a form of ſubſcription, that every man was to make, who received, or before he received any benefice or preferment

ment in the church, which comprehended all the Governors, ſuperiors, and fellows in all the Colleges and Halls of either univerſity, and all ſchool maſters, and the like who are ſubſervient towards learning. Every ſuch perſon was to declare his unfeigned aſſent and conſent to all, and every thing contained and preſcribed in and by the Book intitled "the Book of Common Prayer" &c. the ſubſcription was generally thought ſo reaſonable, that it ſcarce met with any oppoſition in either Houſe. But when it came abroad, and was to be ſubmitted to, all the diſſenting brethren cryed out that it was a ſnare to catch them, to ſay that, which could not conſiſt with their conſcience, they took great pains to diſtinguiſh, and to make great difference between aſſent and conſent, they could be content to read the Book in the manner they were obliged to do, which ſhewed their conſent; but by declaring their unfeigned aſſent to every thing contained and preſcribed therein, would imply that they were ſo fully convinced in their judgments as to think that it was ſo perfect, that nothing therein could be amended, which for their part they thought there might; that there were many expreſſions in the rubrick, which they were not bound to read, yet by this aſſent they declared their approbation thereof; but after many tedious diſcourſes of this tyrannical impoſition, they grew by degrees aſhamed of it, and were perſuaded to think that aſſent and conſent had ſo near the ſame ſignification that they could hardly conſent to do, what they did not aſſent to, that the chiefeſt amongſt them, to avoid a very little inconvenience, ſubſcribed the ſame: but there was ſhortly after another clauſe added, which gave them trouble indeed, when the bill had paſſed the Lords Houſe, it was ſent of courſe to the Commons, where tho' all the factions in religion

ligion had too many friends, for the moſt contrary and oppoſite one to another were united and reconciled againſt the Church, yet they who were jealous for the government, and who hated all the other factions at leaſt enough, were very much ſuperior in number, and in reputation; and the bill was no ſooner read there, than every man according to his paſſion thought of adding ſomething to it, that might make it more grievous to ſomebody whom he did not love; which made the diſcourſes tedious and vehement, and full of animoſity; and at laſt they agreed upon a clauſe, which contained another ſubſcription and declaration, which every one was to make, before he can be admitted into any benefice of eccleſiaſtical promotion, or to be a governor or fellow in either of the univerſities. He muſt firſt declare, that it is not lawfull upon any pretence whatſoever to take arms againſt the king, and that he doth abhor that traiterous poſſition of taking arms by his authority againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſionated by him; and that he will conform to the liturgy of the Church of England, as it is by law now eſtabliſhed; and he doth declare that he doth hold, that there lies no obligation upon him, or any other perſon from the oath commonly called the ſolemn league and covenant, to endeavour any change or alteration of government either in church or ſtate, and that the ſame was in itſelf an unlawful oath, and impoſed upon the ſubjects of this realm againſt the known laws and liberties of the kingdom, with ſome other clauſes which need not be mentioned, becauſe they were afterwards left out; and with this addition and ſome other alterations they returned the bill again to the lords for their approbation. The framing and forming this clauſe had taken up very much time, and raiſed no leſs paſſion in the Houſe

of Commons; and now it came among the lords it was not leſs troubleſome. It added to the diſpleaſure and jealouſie againſt the biſhops, by whom it was thought to be prepared and commended to their party in the lower Houſe. Many lords who had taken the covenant, were not ſo much concerned that the clergy (for whom only this act was prepared) ſhould be obliged to make this declaration, but apprehended more; that when ſuch a clauſe ſhould be once paſſed in one act of parliament, it could not after be diſputed; and ſo would be inſerted in all other acts, which related to the function of any other offices; and ſo would in a ſhort time be required of themſelves, and therefore they oppoſed it warmly, as a thing unneceſſary; and would widen the breach, inſtead of cloſing up the wounds that had been made, which the king had made it his buſineſs to do, and the parliament had hitherto concurred with his majeſty in that endeavour. That many men would believe, or fear (which in ſuch a caſe is the ſame) that this clauſe might prove a breach of the act of indemnity, which did not only provide againſt indictments, ſuits at law, and penalties, but againſt reproaches for what was paſt, which this clauſe would be underſtood to give new life to. For what concerned the conformity to the liturgy of the Church, as it is now eſtabliſhed, it is provided for as fully in the former ſubſcription in this act, and therefore is impertinent in this place; that the covenant contained many good things in it, as defending the king's perſon, and maintaining the Proteſtant Religion, and therefore to ſay that there lies no obligation upon it, would neither be for the ſecurity of the king, or the intereſt of the Church; eſpecially ſince it was well known, that it had wrought upon the conſcience of many to ſerve the king in the late revolution, from which

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his majeſty had received great advantage. However it was now dead, all men were abſolved from taking it, nor could it be impoſed or offered to any man without puniſhment, and they who had in the ill times been forced to take it, did now inviolably and chearfully perform all the duties of allegiance and fidelity to his majeſty. If it had at any time produced any good, that was an excuſe for the irregularity of it, it could do no miſchief for the future, and therefore that it was time to burry it in oblivion. Many men believed, that tho' they inſiſted principally on that part, which related to the covenant, that they were in truth more afflicted with the firſt part, in which it was declared that it was not lawful upon any pretence whatſoever to take arms againſt the king, and that he doth abhor that traiterous poſition of taking up arms by his authority againſt his perſon. Which concluſions had been the principles, which ſupported the rebellion, and by which they had impoſed upon the people, and got their concurrence. They durſt not oppoſe this, becauſe the parliament had already by a former act declared the law to be ſo in thoſe particulars, yet this went much nearer to them, that by their own particular declaration (for they looked upon it as that which muſt in a ſhort time be their own) they ſhould upon the matter confeſs themſelves to be traitors, which they had not yet been declared to have been, and no man could now juſtify the calling them ſo. They, who were moſt ſolicitous that the Houſe ſhould concur with the Commons in this addition, had field room enough to expatiate upon the groſs iniquity of the covenant. They made themſelves very merry with the allegation that the king's ſafety and the intereſt of the Church were provided for by the covenant, when it had been therefore entered into, to

fight againſt the king, and to deſtroy the Church. That there was no one lawful or honeſt clauſe in the covenant, that was not deſtroyed, or made of no ſignification by the next that ſucceeded; and if it were not, the ſame obligation was better provided for by ſome other oaths, which the ſame men had or ought to have taken, and which ought to have reſtrained them from taking the covenant, and therefore it may juſtly be pronounced that there is no obligation upon any man from thence. That there was no breach of the act of indemnity, nor any reproach upon any man for having taken it, except what would reſult from his own conſcience: but that it was moſt abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety of the king's perſon, and the peace of the kingdom, that they, who had taken it, ſhould declare that they do not believe themſelves to be bound by it. Otherwiſe they may ſtill think that they may fight againſt the king, and muſt conſpire the deſtructon of the Church, and they cannot take too much care, or uſe too much diligence to diſcover who are of that opinion, that they may be ſtrictly looked unto, and reſtrained from doing that, which they take themſelves obliged to do. That the covenant is not dead, as was alledged, but ſtill retains great vigour, was ſtill the idol, to which the Preſbyterians ſacrificed, and that there muſt and would always be a general jealouſie of all thoſe who had taken it, untill they had declared that it did not bind them; eſpecially of the clergy, who had ſo often enlarged in their pulpits, how abſolutely and indiſpenſably all men are obliged to proſecute the ends of it, which is to deſtroy the Church, whatever danger it brings the king's perſon to; and therefore they of all men ought to be glad of this opportunity that was offered to vindicate their loyalty and obedience; and if they

were

were not ready to do ſo, they were not fit to be intruſted with the charge and care of the ſouls of the king's ſubjects; and in truth there were not any more importunate for the enjoyning this declaration, than many, who had taken the covenant. Many, who had never taken it, and had always deteſted it, and paid ſoundly for being known to do ſo, were yet very ſorry, that it was inſerted at this time and in this place, for they foreſaw it would make diviſions, and keep up the ſeveral factions, which would have been much weakened and in a ſhort time brought to nothing, if the Preſbyterians had been ſeparated from the reſt, who did perfectly hate and were as perfectly hated by all the reſt. But ſince it was brought upon the ſtage, and it had been the ſubject of ſo much debate, they believed the Houſe of Lords could not now refuſe to concur with the Commons, without undergoing ſome reproach and ſcandal of having an ill opinion enough of the covenant, of which as they were in no degree guilty, ſo they thought it to be of miſchievous conſequence to be ſuſpected to be ſo; and therefore after they had expunged ſome other parts of that ſubſcripiton, which had been annexed to it, and mended ſome other expreſſions in other places, which might rather irritate, than compoſe thoſe humours, which already boiled too much, they returned the bill to the Houſe of Commons, which ſubmitted to all that they had done; and ſo it was preſented to the king, who could not well refuſe his royal aſſent, nor did in his own judgment and inclination diſlike what was offered to him. By this act of uniformity there was an end put to all the liberty and licenſe which had been practiſed in all Churches from the time of his majeſty's return, and by his declaration that he had emitted afterwards, the Common Prayer muſt now be conſtantly read in all Churches

ches, and no other form admitted; and what clergyman ſoever did not fully conform to whatſoever was contained in that Book, or enjoyned by the act of uniformity, by or before St. Bartholomew Day, which was about three months after the act was publiſhed, he was *ipſo facto* deprived of his benefice, or any other ſpiritual promotion of which he ſtood poſſeſſed; and the patron was to preſent another in his place, as if he were dead; ſo that it was not in the king's power to give any diſpenſation to any man, that could preſerve him againſt the penalty in the act of uniformity. This act was no ſooner publiſhed (for I am willing to continue this relation, to the execution of it, becauſe there were ſome intervening accidents, that were not underſtood) than all the Preſbyterian Miniſters expreſſed their diſapprobation of it with all the paſſion imaginable. They complained that the king had violated his promiſe made to them in his declaration from Breda; which was urged with great uningenuity, and without any ſhadow of right, for his majeſty had thereby referred the whole ſettlement of all things relating to religion to the wiſdom of parliament, and in the mean time that no body ſhould be puniſhed or queſtioned for continuing the exerciſe of his religion in the way he had been accuſtomed to in the late confuſions; and his majeſty had continued this indulgence by his declaration after his return, and thereby fully complyed with his promiſe from Breda, which he ſhould indeed have violated, if he had now refuſed to concur in the ſettlement. The parliament had agreed upon being in truth no leſs obliged to concur with the king in the ſettlement that the parliament ſhould propoſe to him, than he was not to cauſe any man to be puniſhed for not obeying the former laws, till a new ſettlement ſhould be made:

but

but how evident ſoever this truth is, they would not acknowledge it, but armed theſe Proſelytes with confident aſſertions, and unnatural interpretations of the words in the king's declaration, as if the king were bound to grant liberty of conſcience, whatever the parliament ſhould or ſhould not deſire; that is, to leave all men to live according to their own humours and appetites, let what laws ſoever be made to the contrary. They declared that they could not with a good conſcience, either ſubſcribe the one or the other declaration, they could not ſay that they did aſſent or conſent in the firſt, nor declare in the ſecond that there remained no obligation from the covenant, and therefore they were all reſolved to quit their livings, and to depend upon providence for their ſubſiſtence.

There cannot be a better evidence of the general affection of the kingdom, than that this act of parliament had ſo concurrent an approbation of both Houſes of Parliament after a ſuppreſſion of that form of devotion for near twenty years, and the higheſt diſcountenance and oppreſſion of all thoſe who were known to be devoted or affected to it; and from the time of the king's return, when it was lawful to uſe it, tho' it was not enjoyned, perſons of all conditions flocked to thoſe Churches where it was uſed; and it was by very many ſober men believed, that if the Preſbyterians and other factions in religion had been only permitted to exerciſe their own ways, with any countenance from the court, that the heart of all the factions againſt the Church would have been broken, before the parliament did ſo fully declare itſelf; and there cannot be a greater manifeſtation of the diſtemper and licenſe of the time, than the preſumption of thoſe Preſbyterian Miniſters in the oppoſing and contradicting an act of parliament when there was

ſcarce a man in that number, who had not been ſo great a promoter of the rebellion, or contributed ſo much to it, that they had no other title to their lives, but by the king's mercy; and that there were very few amongſt them, who had not come into the poſſeſſion of the Churches they now held by the expulſion of the Orthodox Miniſters, who were lawfully poſſeſſed of them; and who being by the impriſonment, poverty and other kinds of oppreſſion and contempt during ſo many years departed this life, the uſurpers remained undiſturbed in their livings, and thought it now the higheſt tyranny to be removed from them, tho' for offending the law and diſobedience to the government. That thoſe men ſhould give themſelves an act of oblivion of all their tranſgreſſions and wickedneſs, and take upon them again to pretend to a liberty of conſcience againſt the government which they had once overthrown upon thoſe pretences, was ſuch an impudence as could not have fallen into the hearts even of thoſe men from the ſtock of their own malice, without ſome great defect in the government and encouragement or countenance from the higheſt powers. The king's too gracious diſpoſition and eaſineſs of acceſs, as hath been ſaid before, had from the beginning raiſed their hopes, and diſpelled their fears, whilſt his majeſty promiſed himſelf a great harveſt in their converſion, by his gentleneſs and affability; and they inſinuated themſelves by a profeſſion, that it was more in regard of his ſervice, than any obſtinacy in themſelves, which kept them from conformity to what the law had enjoyned; that they might ſtill preſerve their credit with their pariſhoners, and by degrees bring them to a perfect obedience. Whereas indeed all the corruption was in the clergy, and where a prudent and Orthodox man was in the pulpit, the people very willingly

heard

heard the Common Prayer. Nor did this confidence leave them after the paſſing and publiſhing this act of uniformity, but the London Miniſters, who had the government of thoſe in the country, prevail'd with the general, who, without any violent inclination of his own, was always ready for his wifes ſake to bring them to the king, who always received them with too much clemency, and diſmiſſed them with too much hope. They lamented the ſadneſs of their condition, which after having done ſo much ſervice to his majeſty, and been ſo graciouſly promiſed by him his protection, muſt now be expoſed to all miſery and famine. They told him, what a vaſt number of churches (five times more than was true) would become void by this act, which would not prove for his ſervice; and that they much feared the people would not continue as quiet and peaceable as they had been under their overſight. They us'd all the arguments they thought might work upon him, and he ſeemed to be the more moved, becauſe he knew that it was not in his power to help them. He told them he had a great compaſſion for them, and was heartily ſorry that the parliament had been ſo ſevere towards them, which he would remit, if it were in his power; and therefore that they ſhould adviſe with their friends, and that, if they found that it would be in his power to give them any eaſe, they ſhould find him inclined to gratify them in whatſoever they deſired. Which gracious expreſſions raiſed their ſpirits as high as ever, and they reported to their friends much more than in truth the king had ſaid to them, which was no new artifice with them; and adviſed their friends in all parts to be firm to their principles, and aſſured them that the rigour of the act of parliament ſhould not be preſſed againſt them. It cannot be denied, that the king

was too irresolute, and apt to be shaken in those councils, which with the greatest declaration he had concluded, by too easily permitting, or at least not restraining any man who waited upon him, or were present with him in his recesses, to examine and censure what was resolved; an infirmity, that brought him many troubles, and exposed his ministers to ruin. Tho' in his nature, judgment and inclinations he did detest the Presbyterians, and by the experience he had of their faculties, pride and insolence in Scotland, had brought from thence such an abhorrence of them, that for their sakes he thought better of any other of the factions. Nor had he any kindness for any person whom he suspected to adhere to them, for the lord Lauderdale took all pains to be thought no Presbyterian, and pleased himself better with no humour than laughing at that people, and telling ridiculous stories of their folly, and foul corruptions. Yet the king from the opinion he had of their great power to do him good or harm, which was oftentimes unskilfully insinuated to him, by men who he knew were not of that party, but were really deceived themselves by a wrong computation and estimate of their interest, was not willing to be thought an enemy to them; and there were too many bold speakers about the court, too admitted into his presence, who being without any sense of religion thought all rather ought to be permitted, than to undergo any trouble and disturbance on the behalf of any one. The continued address and importunity of those ministers, as St. Bartholomew's day approached nearer, more disquieted the king. They inlarged with many words the great joy that they and all their friends had received from the compassion his majesty so graciously had expressed on their behalf, which they would never forget or forfeit

by

by any undutiful carriage. They confeſſed that they found upon conference with their friends, who wiſhed them well, and upon peruſal of the act of parliament that it was not in his majeſty's power to give them ſo much protection againſt the penalty of the act of parliament as they had hoped, and as his great goodneſs was inclined to give them. But that it would be an unſpeakable comfort to them, if his majeſty's grace towards them were ſo manifeſted, that the people might diſcern, that this extreme rigour was not grateful to him, but that he could be well content, if it were for ſome time ſuſpended; and therefore they were humble ſuitors to him, that he would by his letters to the biſhops or by a proclamation, or by an act of council, or any other way his majeſty ſhould think fit, publiſh his deſire, that the execution of the act of uniformity, as to all but the reading the liturgy, which they would conform to, might be ſuſpended for three months; and that he would take it well from the biſhops or any of the patrons, who would ſo far comply with his deſire, as not to take any advantage of thoſe clauſes in the ſtatute, which gave them authority to preſent as in a vacancy. They doubted not there would be many, who would ſubmit willingly to his majeſty's pleaſure, but whatever the effect ſhould be, they would pay the ſame humble acknowledgments to his majeſty as if it had produced all that they deſired. Whether his majeſty thought it would do them no good, and therefore that it was no matter if he granted it; or that he thought it no prejudice to the church, if the act were ſuſpended for three months; or that he was willing to redeem himſelf from the preſent importunity (an infirmity he was too often guilty of) true it is, he did make them a poſitive promiſe that he would do what they deſired, with which they were

abundantly ſatisfied and renewed their encouragement to their friends to perſevere to the end; and this promiſe was ſolemnly given to them in the preſence of the general, who was to ſolicit the king's diſpatch, that his pleaſure might be known in due time. It was now the long vacation, and few of the council was then in town: or of the biſhops with whom his majeſty too late thought it neceſſary to confer, that ſuch an inſtrument might be prepared, as was fit for the affair. Whereupon the king told the chancellor (who was not thought friend enough to the Preſbyterians to be ſooner communicated with) all that had paſſed; what the miniſters had deſired; and what he had promiſed; and bad him to think of the beſt way of doing it. The chancellor was one of thoſe, who would have been glad that the act had not been clogged with many of thoſe clauſes, which he foreſaw might produce ſome inconveniences: but when it was paſt he thought it abſolutely neceſſary to ſee obedience paid to it without any connivance; and therefore as he had always diſſuaded the king from giving too much countenance to thoſe applications, which he always knew publiſhed more to be ſaid, than in truth was ever ſpoken, and was the more troubled for this progreſs they had made with the king. He told his majeſty that it was not in his power to preſerve thoſe men, who did not ſubmit to all that was to be done by the act, from deprivation. He gave many reaſons which occur'd, why ſuch a declaration as was deſired, would prove ineffectual to the end for which it was deſired, and what inconveniences would reſult from attempting it. His majeſty alledged many reaſons for the doing it, which he had received from thoſe who deſired it, and ſeemed ſorry that they were no better; however, concluded that he had engaged his word, and

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that he would perform what he had promiſed, and required him not to oppoſe it. The chancellor had always been very tender of his honour, and adviſed him to be very wary in making any promiſe, but when he had made it, to perfor it tho' to his diſadvantage; and it was no new thing to him to be reproached for oppoſing the reſolving to do ſuch or ſuch a thing, and then to be reproached again for purſuing the reſolution. The king was at Hampton-Court, and ſent for the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of London and Wincheſter to attend him, with the chief juſtice Bridgeman, and the attorney general. There were likewiſe the chancellor, the general, the duke of Ormonde, and the ſecretaries. His majeſty acquainted them with the importunities uſed by the London Miniſters, and the reaſons they had offered, why a further time ſhould be given to them to conſider of what was ſo new to them; and what anſwer he had given to them, and how they had renewed their importunity with a deſire of ſuch a declaration from him as is mentioned before, in which he thought there was no inconvenience, and therefore had promiſed to do it, and called them now together to adviſe of the beſt way of doing it. The biſhops were very much troubled that thoſe fellows ſhould ſtill preſume to give his majeſty ſo much vexation, and that they ſhould have ſuch acceſs to him. They gave ſuch arguments againſt the doing what was deſired as could not be anſwered, and for themſelves they deſired to be excuſed for not conniving in any degree at the breach of the act of parliament, either by not preſenting a clerk where themſelves were patrons, or defering to give inſtruction upon the preſentation; and that his majeſty's giving ſuch a declaration or re commendation would be the greateſt wound to the Church, and to the government

thereof

thereof that it could receive. The chancellor, who did really believe that the king and his ſervice would ſuffer more by the breach of his word and promiſe, than either could do from doing the thing deſired, confeſſed that he believed it would do them little good; which could not be imputed to his majeſty when he had done all he could do; and that it would be a greater conformity, if the miniſters generally performed what they offered to do, in reading all the ſervice of the church, than had been theſe many years; and that once having done what was known to be ſo contrary to their inclinations, would be an ingagement upon them in a ſhort time to comply with the reſt of their obligations; and therefore he ſaid he ſhould not diſſuade his majeſty from doing what he had promiſed, which indeed he had good reaſon to think he was reſolved to do, whatever he was adviſed to the contrary. The king demanded the judgment of the lawyers, whether he could legally diſpenſe with the obſervation of the act for three months, who anſwered, that notwithſtanding any thing he could do in their favour, the patrons might preſent their clerks, as if the incumbents were dead, upon their not performance of what they were enjoyned. Upon the whole matter the king was converted, and with great bitterneſs againſt that people in general, and againſt the particular perſons whom he had always received ſo graciouſly, concluded that he would not do what was deſired, and that the connivance ſhould not be given to any of them. The biſhops departed full of ſatisfaction, with the king's reſolution, and as unſatisfied with their friend the chancellor's inclination to gratify that people, not knowing the engagement that was upon him, and this jealouſie produced a greater coldneſs from ſome of them towards him, and a greater reſentment

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from him, who thought he had deſerved better from their function and their perſons, than was in a long time, if ever perfectly reconciled.

Yet he never declined in the leaſt degree his zeal for the government of the church, or the intereſt of thoſe perſons, nor thought they could be blamed for their ſeverity againſt thoſe miniſters, who were ſurely the proudeſt malefactors, and the moſt incapable of being gently treated of any men living. For if any of the biſhops uſed them kindly, and endeavoured to perſuade them to conformity, they reported that they had been careſſed and flattered by the biſhops and offered great preferments which they had bravely refuſed to accept for the preſervation of a good conſcience, and in reports of this kind few of them ever obſerved any rules of ingenuity or ſincerity. When they ſaw they were to expect and undergo the worſt, they agreed upon a method to be obſerved by them in the leaving and parting with their pulpits; and the laſt ſunday they were to preach, they endeavoured to infuſe murmur, jealouſie, and ſedition into the hearts of their ſeveral auditories; and to prepare them to expect and bear with patience and courage all the perſecutions which were like to follow, now the light of the goſpel was ſo near being extinguiſhed; and all thoſe ſermons they called their farewell ſermons and cauſed to be printed together, with every one of the preachers Pictures before their ſermons, which in truth contained all the vanity and oſtentation with reference to themſelves, and all the inſinuations to mutiny and rebellion, that could be warily couched in words, which could not be brought within penalty of law, tho' the meaning was well underſtood. When the time was expired better men were put into their churches, tho' with much murmuring of ſome of the pariſhes

for

for a time, increaſed by their loud clamour that they had been betrayed by the king's promiſe, that they ſhould have three months longer time, which drew the like clamour upon them by thoſe who had hearkened to their advice in continuing their obſtinacy in confidence of a diſpenſation; whereas otherwiſe they would have conformed, as very many of their party did; and many of the other, who were cozened by them, and ſo loſt the livings they had, made all the haſt they could to make themſelves capable of getting others by as full ſubſcription and confirmity as the act of uniformity required; and the greateſt of them after ſome time, and after they found that the private bounty and donatives, which at firſt flowed in upon them in compaſſion of their ſufferings, and to keep up their courages, every day began to ſlacken and would in the end expire, ſubſcribed to thoſe very declarations, which they had urged as their greateſt motives to their nonconformity; and the number was very ſmall, and of very weak and inconſiderable men, that continued refractory, and received no charge in the church; tho'it may without breach of charity be believed that many who did ſubſcribe, had the ſame malignity to the church, and to the government of it, and it may be did more harm, than if they had continued in their nonconformity.

The long time ſpent in both houſes upon the act of uniformity had made the progreſs of all other publick buſineſs much the ſlower, or rather the multitude of private bills which depended there (and with which former parliaments had been very rarely troubled) and the bitterneſs and animoſities which aroſe from thence, exceedingly diſquieted and diſcompoſed the houſe: every man being ſo much concerned for the intereſt of his friend or allies, that he was

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more ſolicitous for the diſpatch of thoſe, than of any which related to the king and the publick, which he knew would by a general concurrence be all paſſed, before the ſeſſion ſhould be made; whereas if the other ſhould be deferred, the ſeſſion would quickly follow (which the king by frequent meſſages deſired to haſten, having received news already of the queen's having been at Sea many days) and the benefit of thoſe pretences would be loſt, and with greater difficulty be recovered in a ſucceeding ſeſſion. Then as thoſe private bills were for the particular benefit and advantage of ſome perſons, which engaged all their friends to be ſolicitous for their diſpatch; ſo for the moſt part they were to the loſs and damage of other perſons, who likewiſe called in aid of all their friends to prevent the Houſes conſent; and by this means ſo many factions were kindled in both Houſes between thoſe who drove the intereſt of their own, or of their relations, who mutually looked upon one another as enemies, and againſt thoſe who for juſtice and the dignity of the parliament would have rejected all or moſt of the addreſſes of that kind, that in moſt debates which related to neither, the cuſtom of contradiction, and the averſion to perſons very much diſturbed and prolonged all diſpatch. It cannot be denyed, that after a civil war of ſo many years proſecuted with that height of malice and revenge, ſo many houſes plundered, and ſo many burnt, in which the evidences of many eſtates were totally deſtroyed, and as many by the unſkillful providence of others, who in order to preſerve them had buried their writings ſo unwarily under ground, that they were taken up ſo defaced or rotted, that they could not be pleaded in any Court of Juſtice. Many who had followed the king in the war, and ſo made themſelves liable to thoſe penalties, which the par-

liament had prepared for them, and ſubjected them to, had made many feigned conveyances with ſuch limitations, and ſo abſolutely that no truſt might be diſcovered by thoſe who had power to avoid it, that they were indeed too abſolute to be avoided by themſelves, and their eſtates become ſo much out of their own diſpoſal, that they could neither apply it to the payment of their juſt debts, or to the proviſion for their children. I ſay there were many ſuch caſes, which could be no other way provided for, but by an act of parliament and to which an act of parliament without too much ſeverity and rigour could not be denyed, and againſt any of thoſe there appeared none, or very little oppoſition to be made: but the example and precedent of ſuch drew with them a world of unreaſonable pretences, and they who were not in a condition to receive relief in a Court of Juſtice, though they had a ground to appeal to parliament. They who had been compelled, for raiſing the money they were forc'd to pay for their delinquency, to ſell land, and could not ſell it but at a very low value, for it was one ſpecies of the oppreſſion of that time, that when a powerful man had an aſpect upon the land of any man who was to compound, and ſo in view like to ſell it, no other man would offer any money for it, ſo that he was ſure at laſt to have it upon his own price. Now all that monſtrous power was vaniſhed, they who had made thoſe unthrifty bargains and ſales, tho' with all the formalities of the law by fines and recoveries and the like which is all the ſecurity that can be given upon any purchaſe, eſpecially if the purchaſer was of an ill name, came with all imaginable confidence to the parliament to have land reſtored to them. Every man had raiſed an equity in his own imagination, that he thought ought to prevail againſt any deſcent, teſtament

tament, or act of law, and that whatever any man had been brought to do, which common reaſon would make manifeſt that he never would have done if he could have choſen, was arguments ſufficient and of ſuch a force, and ought to find relief in parliament from the unbounded equity there were maſters of, and could diſpenſe, with whatever formalities of law had preceded or accompanied the tranſaction; and whoever oppoſed theſe extravagant notions, which ſometimes deprived men of the benefit of the act of oblivion, was thought to be without juſtice, or which to them was worſe, to be without any kindneſs to the king's party; and without queſtion, upon theſe motives and others as unreaſonable, many acts were paſſed of very ill example, and which many men were ſcandalized at in the preſent, and poſterity will more cenſure hereafter, when infants, who were then unborn, ſhall find themſelves diſinherited of thoſe eſtates, which their anceſtors had carefully provided ſhould deſcend to them, upon which irregularities the king made reflexion, when he made the ſeſſion. But notwithſtanding all theſe incongrueties and the indiſpoſitions which attended them, they performed all thoſe reſpects towards the king, which he did or could expect from them, there being ſcarce a man, who oppoſed the granting any thing, that was propoſed for the benefit of his majeſty or the greatneſs of the crown; and tho' ſome of the particulars mentioned before did ſometimes intervere and defer the preſent reſolutions and concluſions in thoſe councils, the reſolutions and concluſions in a ſhort time after ſucceeded according to their wiſh. The militia and many other regalities were declared and ſettled according to the original ſenſe of the law, and the authority of the crown vindicated to the height it had been at, upon the heads of the greateſt kings who had

ever reigned in the nation. Monies were raiſed by ſeveral bills ſufficient, as they conceived, to have paid all the debts, the king or the kingdom owed, for in their computation they comprehended the debts that were owing before his majeſty's return, and for which the publick faith had been engaged; and if as much had been paid, as they conceived they had given, probably it might have been enough to have diſcharged all thoſe. They ſettled a conſtant revenue upon the crown, which according to the eſtimate they made, would amount to the yearly value of twelve hundred thouſand pounds; a proportion double to what it was in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and it may be of any king preceeding; and declared that if it did not amount to that full value, they would ſupply it at another meeting; and tho' it hath not in truth amounted to that ſum in his majeſty's receipts, the parliament hath imputed it rather to ill managery and letting farms at too eaſy rates, than to an error in their computation. For the preſent it was looked upon by the king and his miniſters, as anſwerable to his expectation, and ſo upon notice of the queen's being upon the coaſt, and afterwards of her arrival at Portſmouth, the king appointed the Houſes to preſent all their bills to him upon the 19th of May for his royal aſſent, it being few days above a year from the time of their being firſt convened. When the king came to the parliament and they had preſented the great number of bills which they had prepared, and after he had given his royal aſſent to moſt of them, his majeſty told them, that he thought there had been very few ſeſſions of parliament, in which there had been ſo many bills, as he had paſſed that day; he was confident never ſo many private bills, which he hoped they would not draw into example. It was true, he ſaid, the

late ill times had driven men into great ſtreights, and might have obliged them to conveyances colourably to avoid inconveniences, and yet not afterwards to be avoided; and men had gotten eſtates by new and greater frauds than had been heretofore practiſed; and therefore in this conjuncture extraordinary remedies might be neceſſary, which had induced him to comply with their advice, in paſſing thoſe bills. But he prayed them that this ſhould be rarely done hereafter, that the good old rules of the law are the beſt ſecurity; and he wiſhed that men might not have too much cauſe to fear that the ſettlements which they make of their eſtates, ſhall be too eaſily unſettled, when they are dead, by the power of parliament. He ſaid that they had ſo much obliged him not only in the matter of thoſe bills which concerned his revenue, but in the manner of paſſing with ſo great affection and kindneſs, that he knew not how to thank them enough. He did aſſure them, and prayed them to aſſure their friends in the country, that he would apply all, that they had given to him, to the utmoſt improvement of the peace and happineſs of the kingdom, and that he would, with the beſt advice, and good huſbandry he could, bring his own expences within a narrower compaſs: and he ſaid he was now ſpeaking to them of his own good huſbandry, he muſt tell them that would not be enough, he could not but obſerve that the whole nation ſeemed to him a little corrupted in their exceſs of living, all men ſpending much more in their cloaths, in their diet, in all their expences than they had uſed to do. He hoped it had only been the exceſs of joy after ſo long ſufferings, that had tranſported him and them to thoſe other exceſſes; but he deſired them that they might all take heed, that the continuance

tinuance of them did not indeed corrupt their natures. He did believe that he had been that way very faulty himſelf, he promiſed that he would reform, and that if they would reform and that if they would joyn with him in their ſeveral capacities, they would by their examples do more good, both in City and Country, than any new laws would do. He ſaid many other good things that pleaſed them, and no doubt he intended all he ſaid, but the ways and expedients towards good huſbandry were no where purſued.

The chancellor by the king's command inlarged upon the general murmurs upon the expenſe, and that it ſhould ſo much exceed all former times. He put them in mind how the crown had been uſed ſince thoſe times, how the king had found it at his bleſſed return. That as ſoon as he came hither, beſides the infinite ſums that he forgave, he gave more money to the people, than he had ſince received from them. (He meant, I ſuppoſe, the releaſe of all the rents, debts, and receipts, which were due to him) that at leaſt two parts of three, that they had ſince given him, had iſſued for the diſbanding of armies never raiſed by him; and for payment of fleets never ſent out by him; and of debts never incurred by him. He put them in mind of the vaſt diſparity between the former times and thoſe in which they now lived, and conſequently in the diſproportion in the expence the crown was now at for the protection and benefit of the ſubject to what it formerly underwent. How great difference there was in the preſent greatneſs and power of the two Crowns, and what they had been then poſſeſſed of, was evident to all men; and if the greatneſs and power of the Crown of England ſhould not be in ſome proportion improved too, it might be liable to inconveniences it would not undergo alone. How our neighbours and our rivals,

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who court one and the ſame miſtreſs, trade and commerce with all the world, are advanced in ſhipping, power, and an immoderate deſire to ingroſs the whole traffick of the univerſe, was notorious enough; and that this unruly appetite would not be reſtrained or diſappointed, nor the trade of the nation be ſupported and maintained with the ſame fleets and forces, which had been maintained in the happy time of queen Elizabeth. He needed not ſpeak of the naval power of the Turks, who inſtead of ſkulking abroad in poor ſingle ſhips, as they were wont to do, domineer now on the ocean in ſtrong fleets, make naval fights, and had brought ſome Chriſtians to a better correſpondence, and another kind of commerce and traffick with them than was expected. (For at that time the Dutch had made a low and diſhonourable peace with the Pirates of Algiers and Tunis) inſomuch as they apprehend no enemy upon the ſea, but what they find in the king of Englands ſhips, which had indeed brought no ſmall damage on them with no ſmall charge to the king, but a great reputation to the nation. He did aſſure them that the charge the crown was then at by ſea and land for the peace, and ſecurity and wealth and honour of the nation, amounted to no leſs than eight hundred thouſand pounds in the year, all which did not coſt the crown before the late troubles fourſcore thouſand pounds the year, and therefore that no body could blame them for any ſupply they had given, or addition they had made to the revenue of the crown. He told them that the new acquiſitions of Dunkirk, Mardike, Tangier, Jamaica and Bombay ought to be looked upon as jewels of an immenſe magnitude in the royal diadem; and tho' they were of preſent expenſe, they were like in a ſhort time to bring vaſt advantages to the trade, navigation, wealth and honour of

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the king and kingdom. His majeſty had enough expreſſed his deſire to live in a perfect peace and amity with all his neighbours, nor was it an ill ingredient towards the firmneſs and ſtability of that peace and amity, which his royal anceſtors had held with them, that he hath ſome advantages in caſe of a war, which they were without. The ſame day the parliament was porrogued to the 18th day of February following.

It was about the end of May, when the queen came to Hampton-Court, the earl of Sandwich after he had reduced thoſe Pirates of Algiers and Tunis to good conditions, went to Tangier, which was to be delivered to him before he was to go to Liſbon for the reception of the queen; and delivered to him it was, tho' by an accident that might have cauſed it to be delivered into another hand. There was never the leaſt doubt but that the queen regent did reſolve religiouſly to perform all the conditions on the part of Portugal, and the government was yet in her hand; but the king growing towards his majority, and of a nature not like to comply long with his mother's advice, factions began likewiſe to grow in that court. The delivery of Tangier, and into the hands of Hereticks was much murmured at, as like more to irritate the Pope, who did already carry himſelf towards them very unlike a common father, notwithſtanding the powerful interpoſition of France, which upon the peace lately made between the two crowns was already ceaſed, ſo that they now apprehended, that this new provocation would give ſome excuſe to the Court of Rome to comply more ſeverely with the importunities from Spain, which likewiſe upon this occaſion they were ſure would be renewed with all poſſible inſtance; and tho' the queen had lately ſent a governor to Tangier, whom ſhe

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therefore made choice of as a man devoted to her, and who would obey her commands in the delivery of this place, yet it is certain, he went thither with a contrary reſolution. Very few days before the earl of Sandwich came thither, the governor marched out with all the horſe and above half the foot of the garriſon into the country, and fell into an ambuſh of the Moors, who being much more numerous cut of the whole party, and ſo the governor with ſo many of the chief officers and ſoldiers being killed, the town was left ſo weak, that if the Moors had purſued their advantage with ſuch numbers as they might, and did intend within few days to bring with them, they would have been able to have made little reſiſtance. The earl of Sandwich coming happily thither in that conjuncture, the town was delivered into his hands, who conveyed the remainder of the garriſon into Portugal, where they were like to be ſtoned by the people: and then having put a good garriſon of horſe and foot which were ſent from England into it, he delivered it up to the earl of Peterborough, who had a commiſſion from the king to be governor thereof, and himſelf with the fleet ſailed to Liſbon, where he had been long expected, and found his houſe and equipage ready, he being then to appear in the quality of extraordinary embaſſador to demand the queen. His arrival there happened likewiſe in a very happy conjuncture, for the Spaniſh army, ſtronger than it had been before, was upon it's march to beſiege a ſea-port town, which lay ſo near Liſbon, that being in the enemies hands would have very much infeſted their whole trade, and was not ſtrong enough long to have reſiſted ſo powerfull an enemy; but upon the fame of the Engliſh fleet's arrival, the Spaniards gave over that deſign and retired: ſince as it was impoſſible that they ſhould be able to take that place, which

fleet was ſo ready to relieve, ſo they knew not but that the Engliſh might make a deſcent into their own quarters, which kept them from marching before any other town. But the alarum the march of the army had given, had ſo much diſturbed Portugal, which never keep their whole forces on foot, but draw them together upon ſuch emergent occaſions, that they were compelled to make uſe of moſt of that money, which they ſaid had been laid up and ſhould be kept for the payment of the queen's portion, which was to be tranſported with her into England; whereupon after the embaſſador had been received with all poſſible demonſtrations of reſpect and publick joy, and had had his ſolemn audience from the king, and from the queen regent, and the queen his miſtreſs, and ſome Engliſh Gentlemen of Quality, who were ſent by the king, were admitted to thoſe places of attendance, about the queen, to which his majeſty had aſſigned them, the queen mother with infinite apologies told the embaſſador, that the ſtreights and poverty of the kingdom were ſo great upon the late advance of the Spaniſh army, that there could at this preſent time be only paid only one half of the queen's portion, and that the other half ſhould infallibly be paid within a year, with which ſhe hoped the king her brother would be ſatisfied; and that for the better doing it, ſhe reſolved to ſend back the ſame embaſſador, who had brought ſo good a work with God's bleſſing to ſo good an end, with her daughter to the king. The earl of Sandwich was much perplexed, nor did eaſily reſolve what he was to do: his inſtructions were to receive the whole portion, which he knew the king expected, and which they were not able to pay. He had already received Tangier, and left a ſtrong garriſon in it, and had neither authority to reſtore it, nor

where withall to carry back the men; and at laſt after he had uſed all the means to have the whole paid, and was ſo fully informed, that he did in truth believe that they could do no more, he reſolved that he would receive the queen aboard the fleet. That which they were ready to deliver for half the portion was not in money, but to be made up by jewels, ſugar, and other commodities, which ſhould not be overvalued. The embaſſador was contented to give his receipt for the ſeveral ſpecies of money they would deliver, leaving the value to be computed in England, but expreſsly refuſed to accept the jewels, ſugar and merchandizes at any rates or prices; but was contented to receive on board the ſhips, and to deliver them in ſpecie at London to any perſon, who ſhould be appointed by them to receive them, who ſhould be obliged to pay the money they were valued at, and to make up the whole ſum, that ſhould be paid to the king for the moiety. In concluſion, all things were delivered on board the ſhips, and Diego Silvas, a jew of great wealth, and full credit at Amſterdam, was ſent with it, and obliged to make even the account with the king's miniſters at London, and to pay what ſhould remain due; and new obligation was entered into by the crown of Portugal for the payment of the other moiety within the ſpace of a year: and the queen with all her court and retinue were embarked on board the fleet, and without any ill accidents her majeſty arrived ſafely at Portſmouth; and having reſted only three or four days there, to recover the indiſpoſition contracted in ſo long a voyage at Sea, her majeſty together with the king came to Hampton-Court, at the time mentioned before, the 29th of May the king's birth-day, full two years after his majeſty's return and entring London.

However the publick joy of the kingdom was very manifeſt upon this conjunction, yet in a ſhort time there appeared not that ſerenity in the court, that was expected. They, who had formerly endeavoured to prevent it, uſed ever after all the ill acts they could to make it diſagreeable, and to alienate the king's affection from the queen to ſuch a degree, that it might never be in her power to prevail with him to their diſadvantage; an effect they had reaſon to expect from any notable intereſt ſhe might gain in his affections, ſince ſhe could not be uninformed by the embaſſador of the diſſervice they had formerly endeavoured to do her. There was a Lady of youth and beauty, with whom the king had lived in great and notorious familiarity from the time of his coming into England, and who at the time of the queen's coming, or a little before, had been delivered of a ſon, whom the king owned; and as that amour had been generally taken notice of to the leſſening of the good reputation the king had with the people, ſo it underwent the leſs reproach, from the king's being young, vigourous, and in full ſtrength, and upon a full preſumption, that, when he ſhould be married, he would contain himſelf within the ſtrict bounds of virtue and conſcience. And that his majeſty had that firm reſolution, there want not many arguments, as well from the excellent temper and juſtice of his own nature, as from the profeſſions he had made with ſome ſolemnity to perſons, who were beleived to have much credit, and who had not failed to do their duty in putting him in mind of the infinite obligations he had to God Almighty, and that he expected another kind of return from him, in the purity of mind, and integrity of life: of which his majeſty was piouſly ſenſible, albeit there was all poſ-

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ble pains taken by that company, which were admitted to his hours of pleaſure, to divert and corrupt all thoſe impreſſions and principles, which his own conſcience and reverend eſteem of providence did ſuggeſt to him; turning all diſcourſe and mention of religion into ridicule, as if it were only an invention of divines to impoſe upon men of parts, and to reſtrain them from the liberty and uſe of thoſe faculties which God and nature had given them, that they might be ſubject to their reproofs and determinations. Which kind of licence was not grateful to the king, and therefore warily and accidentally uſed by thoſe, who had pleaſant wit, and in whoſe company he took much delight. The queen had beauty and wit enough to make herſelf very agreable to him, and it is very certain that at their firſt meeting, and for ſometime after, the king had very good ſatisfaction in her; and without doubt made very good reſolutions within himſelf, promiſed himſelf a happy and an innocent life in her company, without any ſuch uxorioufneſs, as might draw the reputation upon him of being governed by his wife, of which he had obſerved or been too largely informed of ſome inconvenient effects in the fortune of ſome of his neareſt friends, and had long proteſted againſt ſuch a reſignation; tho' they, who knew him well, did not think him ſo much ſuperior to ſuch a condeſcenſion, but that if the queen had had that craft, and addreſs, and dexterity that ſome former queens had, ſhe might have prevailed as far by degrees, as they had done. But the truth is, tho' ſhe was of years enough to have had more experience of the world, and of as much wit as could be wiſh'd, and of a humour very agreable at ſome ſeaſons, yet ſhe had been bred, according to the mode and diſcipline of her country, in a monaſtery, where ſhe had only ſeen the woman

man who attended her, and converſed with the religious who reſided there, and without doubt in her inclinations was enough diſpoſed to have been one of that number: and from this reſtraint ſhe was called out to be a great queen, and to a free converſation in a court, that was to be upon the matter new formed, and reduced from the manners of a licentious age to the old rules and limits, which had been obſerved in better times, and to which regular and decent conformity the preſent diſpoſition of men nor women was not enough inclined to ſubmit, nor the king enough diſpoſed to exact. There was a numerous family of men and women, that was ſent from Portugal, the moſt improper to promote that conformity in the queen that was neceſſary for her condition and future happiness, that could be choſen; the women for the moſt part old, and ugly, and proud, incapable of any converſation with perſons of quality and a liberal education: and they deſired, and indeed had conſpired ſo far to poſſeſs the queen themſelves, that ſhe ſhould neither learn the Engliſh language, nor uſe their habit, nor depart from the manners and faſhions of her own country in any particulars; which reſolution they told her would be for the dignity of Portugal, and would quickly induce the Engliſh ladies to conform to her majeſty's practice. And this imagination had made that impreſſion, that the taylor, who had been ſent into Portugal to make her cloaths, could never be admitted to ſee her, or receive any employment; nor, when ſhe came to Portſmouth, and found there ſeveral ladies of honour and prime quality to attend her in the places, to which they were aſſigned by the king, did ſhe receive any of them, till the king himſelf came, nor then with any grace, or the liberty that belonged to their places and offices. She could not be perſuaded to be

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dreſſed out of the wardrobe that the king had ſent to her, but would wear the cloaths, which ſhe had brought, untill ſhe found that the king was diſpleaſed, and would be obey'd; whereupon ſhe conformed againſt the advice of her woman, who continued their opiniatrete, without any one of them receeding from their own mode; which expoſed them the more to reproach.

When the queen came to Hampton-Court, ſhe brought with her a form'd reſolution that ſhe would never ſuffer the lady, who was ſo much ſpoken of, to be in her preſence; and afterwards to thoſe ſhe would truſt ſhe ſaid, her mother had enjoyned her ſo to do. On the other hand the king thought that he had ſo well prepared her, to give her a civil reception, that in a day or two after his majeſty's being there, himſelf led her into her chamber, and preſented her to the queen, who received her with the ſame grace as ſhe had done the reſt, there being many lords and other ladies at the ſame time there: but whether her majeſty in the inſtant knew who ſhe was, or upon recollection found it afterwards, ſhe was no ſooner ſate in her chair, but her colour changed, and tears guſhed out of her eyes, and her nole bled, and ſhe fainted, ſo that ſhe was forthwith removed into another room, and all the company retired out of that, where ſhe was before; and this falling out ſo notoriouſly, when ſo many perſons were preſent, the king looked upon it with wonderful indignation, and as an earneſt of defiance for the deciſion of the ſupremacy and who ſhould govern, upon which point he was the moſt jealous and the moſt reſolute of any man; and the anſwer, he received from the queen, which kept up the obſtinacy, diſpleaſed him more. Now the breach of the conditions grew matter of reproach; the payment of but half the

portion

portion was objected to the embaſſador, who would have been very glad that the quarrel had been upon no other point. He knew not what to ſay or do, the king being offended with him, for having ſaid ſo much in Portugal to provoke the queen, and not inſtructed her enough to make her unconcerned in what had been before her time, and in which ſhe could not reaſonably be concerned: and the queen with more indignation reproaching him with the character he had given of the king, of his virtue and good nature; whilſt the poor man, not able to endure the tempeſt of ſo much injuſtice from both, thought it beſt to ſatisfie both by dying, and from the extreme affliction of mind, which he underwent, he ſuſtained ſuch a feavour, as brought him to the brink of his grave, till ſome grace from both their majeſty's contributed much to the recoverey of his ſpirits. In the mean time the king forbore her majeſty's company, and ſought eaſe and refreſhment in that young company, to which in the evenings he grew every day more indulgent, and in which there were ſome, who deſired rather to inflame than pacifie his diſcontent: and they found an expedient to vindicate his royal jurisdiction, and to make it manifeſt to the world that he would not be governed, which could never without much artifice have got entrance into his princely breaſt, which always entertained the moſt tender affections; nor was ever any man's nature more remote from thoughts of roughneſs, or hard-heartedneſs. They magnified the temper and conſtitution of his grandfather, who indeed to all other purpoſes was a glorious example, that when he was enamoured and found a return anſwerable to his merit, that he did not diſſemble his paſſion, nor ſuffered it to be matter of reproach to the perſons whom he lov'd, but made all others pay them that reſpect which he thought them worthy

worthy of, brought them to the court and obliged his own wife, the queen, to treat them with grace and favour, gave them the higheſt titles of honour to draw reverence and application to them from all the court, and all the kingdom, raiſed the children he had by them to the reputation, ſtate and degree of princes of the blood, and conferred fortunes and offices upon them accordingly: that his majeſty, who inherited the ſame poſſeſſions, was without the gratitude and noble inclination to make returns proportionable to the obligations he received, that he had by the charms of his perſon and his profeſſions prevailed upon the affections and heart of a young and beautiful lady, of a noble extraction, whoſe father had loſt his life in the ſervice of the crown; that ſhe had provoked the jealouſy and rage of her huſband to that degree, that he had ſeparated himſelf from her; and now the queen's indignation had made the matter ſo notorious to the world, that the diſconſolate lady had no place of retreat left, but muſt be made an object of infamy and contempt to all her ſex and to the whole world. Theſe diſcourſes, together with a little book newly printed at Paris, according to the licence of that nation, of the amours of Henry the IVth, which was by them preſented to him, and too concernedly read by him, made that impreſſion upon his mind, that he reſolved to raiſe the quality and degree of that lady, who was married to a private gentleman of a competent fortune, that had not the ambition to be a better man than he was born, and that he might do ſo, he made her huſband an earl of Ireland, who knew too well the conſideration that he paid for it, and abhorred the brand of ſuch a nobility, and did not in a long time aſſume the title. The lady thus qualified was now made fit for higher preferment, and the

king reſolved for the vindication of her honour and innocence, that ſhe ſhould be admitted of the bedchamber of the queen, as the only means to convince the world, that all aſperſions upon her had been without ground. The king uſed all the ways he could by treating the queen with all careſſes, to diſpoſe her to gratify him in this particular, as a matter in which his honour was concerned and engaged; and proteſted unto her, which at that time he did intend to obſerve, that he had not had the leaſt familiarity with her ſince her majeſty's arrival, nor would ever after be guilty of it again, but would live always with her majeſty in all fidelity for conſcience ſake. The queen, who was naturally more tranſported with choler, than her countenance declared her to be, had not the temper to entertain him with thoſe diſcourſes, which the vivacity of her wit could very plentifully have ſuggeſted to her, but broke out into a torrent of rage, which encreaſed the former prejudice, confirmed the king in the reſolution he had taken, gave ill people more credit to mention her diſreſpectfully, and more increaſed his averſion from her company, and, which was worſe, his delight in thoſe, that he ſhould neither love his wife, or his buſineſs, or any thing but their converſation.

Theſe domeſtic indiſpoſitions and diſtempers, and the impreſſion they made of ſeveral kinds upon the king's ſpirit and humour, exceedingly diſcompoſed the minds of the graveſt and moſt ſerious men; gave the people generally an occaſion of ſpeaking loudly, and with a licence that the magiſtrates knew not how to puniſh for the publication of the ſcandal; and the wiſeſt men deſpaired of finding remedies to apply to the diſſoluteneſs and debauchery of the time, which viſibly increaſed. No more appeared to

ſuffer,

ſuffer, or like to ſuffer more, than the chancellor, againſt whom, though no particular perſon owned a malignity, the congregation of the witty men for the evening converſation were enough united againſt his intereſt, and thought his influence upon the king's actions and councils would be too much augmented, if the queen came to have any power, who had a very good opinion of him; and it is very probable, that even that apprehenſion encreaſed the combination againſt her majeſty. The lady had reaſon enough to hate him mortally, well knowing that there had been an inviolable friendſhip between her father and him to his death, and which had been notorious to all men, and that he was an implacable enemy to the power and intereſt ſhe had with the king, and had uſed all the endeavours he could to deſtroy it; yet, neither ſhe, nor any of the other, adventured to ſpeak ill of him to the king, who at that time would not have borne it, except for wit ſake they ſometimes reflected upon ſomewhat he had ſaid, or acted ſome of his poſtures and manner of ſpeaking (the ſkill in mimickery being the beſt faculty in wit many of them had) which licence they practiſed often towards the king himſelf, and therefore his majeſty thought it to be the more free from malice; but by theſe liberties, which at firſt only raiſed laughter, they by degrees got the hardineſs to cenſure both the perſons, councils, and actions of thoſe, who were neareſt his majeſty's truſt, with the higheſt malice and preſumption, and too often ſuſpended, or totally diſappointed ſome reſolutions, which had been taken upon very mature deliberation, and which ought to have been purſued; but (as hath been ſaid before) this preſumption had not yet come to this length. The king imparted the trouble and unquietneſs of his mind to no body with equal free-

dom, as he did to the chancellor: to him he complained of all the queen's perverſeneſs and ill humours, and informed him of all that paſſed between them, and obliged to confer and adviſe the queen, who he knew looked upon him as a man devoted to her ſervice, and that he would ſpeak very confidently to her, whatever he thought, and therefore gave him leave to take notice to her of any thing he had told him. It was too delicate a province for ſo plain-dealing a man as he was to undertake, and yet he knew not how to refuſe it, nor indeed did deſpair totally of being able to do ſome good, ſince the queen was not yet more acquainted with any man than with him, nor ſpeak ſo much with any man as with him, and he believed that he might hereby have opportunity to ſpeak ſometimes to the king of ſome particulars with more freedom, than otherwiſe he could well do, at leaſt more effectually. He had never heard before of the honour the king had done that lady, nor of the purpoſe he had to make her of his wife's bed-chamber; he ſpake with great boldneſs to him upon both, and did not believe that the firſt was proceeded in beyond revocation, becauſe it had not come to the great ſeal, and gave him many arguments againſt it, which he thought of weight; but upon the other point he took more liberty and ſpake of the hard-heartedneſs and cruelty in laying ſuch a command upon the queen, which fleſh and blood could not comply with. He put him in mind of what he heard his majeſty himſelf ſay upon a like exceſs, which a neighbour king had lately uſed, in making his miſtreſs to live in the court, and in the preſence of the queen; that his majeſty had then ſaid, that it was ſuch a piece of ill-nature, that he could never be guilty of, and if ever he ſhould be guilty of having a miſtreſs after he had a wife,

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which he hoped he ſhould never be, ſhe ſhould never come where his wife was; he would never add that to the vexation, of which ſhe would have enough without it, and yet he told him, that ſuch friendſhips were not new in that other court, nor ſcandalous in that kingdom, whereas in this it was ſo unheard of and ſo odious, that a woman who proſtituted herſelf to the king, was equally infamous to all women of honour, and muſt expect the ſame contempt from them, as if ſhe were common to mankind; and that no enemy he had could adviſe him a more ſure way to loſe the hearts and affections of the people, of which he was now ſo abundantly poſſeſſed, than the indulging to himſelf that liberty, now it had pleaſed God to give him a wife worthy of him: that the exceſs he had already uſed in that and other ways, had loſt him ſome ground, but that the continuance in them would break the hearts of all his friends, and be only grateful to thoſe who wiſhed the deſtruction of monarchy; and concluded with aſking his pardon for ſpeaking ſo plainly, and beſought his majeſty to remember the wonderful things which God had done for him, and for which he expected other returns than he had yet received. The king heard him with patience enough, yet with thoſe little interruptions which were natural to him, eſpecially to that part where he had levelled the miſtreſſes of kings and princes with other lewd women, at which he expreſſed ſome indignation, being an argument often debated before by him, who would have them looked upon above other wives. He did not appear diſpleaſed with the liberty he had taken, but ſaid, he knew it proceeded from the affection he had for him, and then proceeded upon the ſeveral parts of what he had ſaid, more volubly than he uſed to do, as upon points, in which

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he was converſant, and had heard well debated. To the firſt he began with a ſtory of an accident that had fallen out the day before: he ſaid, the lady had then told him, that ſhe did hope the chancellor was not ſo much her enemy, as he was generally reported to be, for ſhe was ſure he was not guilty of one diſcourteſy of which he had been accuſed to her, and therefore might be as innocent in others, and therefore told his majeſty that the day before the earl of Briſtol (who was never without ſome reaſon to engage himſelf in ſuch intrigues, and had been a principal promoter of all theſe late reſolutions) came to her, and aſked her, whether the patent was not yet paſſed; ſhe anſwered, no; he aſked if ſhe knew the reaſon, which ſhe ſeeming not to do, he told her, that he came in confidence to tell her, and that if ſhe did not quickly curb and overrule ſuch preſumption, ſhe would often meet with it to her prejudice; then told her a long relation, how the patent had been carried to the chancellor, prepared for the ſeal, and that he according to his cuſtom had ſuperciliouſly ſaid, that he would firſt ſpeak with the king of it, and that in the mean time, it ſhould not paſs; and that if ſhe did not make the king very ſenſible of this his inſolence, his majeſty ſhould never be judge of his own bounty: and then the lady laughed, and made ſharp reflections upon the principles of the earl of Briſtol (who had throughout his life the rare good fortune of being exceedingly beloved and exceedingly hated by the ſame perſons, in the ſpace of one month, and now finding that there was a ſtop of the patent, made a very natural gueſs where it muſt be, and gratified his own appetite in the concluſion) and pulled the warrant out of her pocket, where, ſhe ſaid, it had remained ever ſince it was ſigned, and ſhe believed the chancellor

cellor had never heard of it, ſhe was ſure there was no patent prepared, and therefore he could not ſtop it at the ſeal. The truth is, though according to the cuſtom, ſhe had aſſumed the title as ſoon as ſhe had the warrant, that the other pretence might be proſecuted, ſhe made not haſte to paſs the patent, leaſt her huſband might ſtop it, and after long deliberation was not ſo confident of the chancellor, as to tranſmit it to the ſeal that was in his cuſtody, but the honour being Iriſh ſent it into that kingdom, to paſs the great ſeal there, where ſhe was ſure it could meet no interruption.

When the king had made this relation, and added ſome ſharp remarks upon the earl of Briſtol, as a man very particularly known and underſtood by him, he ſaid, that he had undone his lady, and ruined her reputation, which had been fair and untainted, till her friendſhip for him, and that he was obliged in conſcience and honour to repair her to the utmoſt of his power; that he would always avow to have a great friendſhip for her, which he owed as well to the memory of her father as her own perſon, and that he would look upon it as the higheſt diſreſpect to him, in any body that ſhould treat her otherwiſe than was due to her own birth, and the dignity to which he had raiſed her; that he liked her company and converſation, from which he would not be reſtrained, becauſe he knew there was and ſhould be all innocence in it; and that his wife ſhould never have cauſe to complain that he broke his vows to her, if ſhe would live towards him as a good wife ought to do, in rendering herſelf grateful and acceptable to him, which it was in her power to do; but if ſhe would continue uneaſy to him, he could not anſwer for himſelf, that he ſhould not endeavour to ſeek content in other company;

that

that he had proceeded ſo far in the buſineſs that concerned the lady, and was ſo deeply engaged in it, that ſhe would not only be expoſed to all imaginable contempt, if it ſucceeded not, but his own honour would ſuffer ſo much, that he ſhould become ridiculous to the world, and be thought to be in pupillage under a governor; and therefore, he would expect and exact a conformity from his wife herein, and which ſhould be the only hard thing he would ever require from her, and which ſhe herſelf might make very eaſy, for the lady would behave herſelf with all poſſible duty and humility unto her, which if ſhe ſhould fail to do in the leaſt degree, ſhe ſhould never ſee the king's face again, and that he would never be engaged to put any other ſervant about her, without firſt conſulting with her, and receiving her conſent and approbation. Upon the whole, he ſaid, he would never recede from any part of the reſolution he had taken and expreſſed to him; and therefore he required him to uſe all thoſe arguments to the queen which were neceſſary to induce her to a full compliance with what the king deſired. The chancellor addreſſed himſelf to the queen with as full liberty and plainneſs as he had preſumed to uſe to his majeſty, but could not proceed ſo far at a time, nor hold ſo long conferences at once. When he firſt lamented the miſintelligence he obſerved to be between their majeſties; and ſhe perceived the king had told him ſome particulars, ſhe proteſted her own innocence, but with ſo much paſſion, and ſuch a torrent of tears, that there was nothing left for him to do but to retire, and tell her, that he would wait upon her in a fitter ſeaſon, and when ſhe ſhould be more capable of receiving humble advice from her ſervants, who wiſhed her well, and ſo departed. The next day he waited upon her again, at the hour aſſigned by her,

her, and found her much better compoſed than he had left her. She vouchſafed to excuſe the paſſion ſhe had been in, and confeſſed ſhe looked upon him as one of the few friends ſhe had, and from whence ſhe would moſt willingly at all times receive counſel; but that ſhe hoped he would not wonder, nor blame her, if having greater misfortunes upon her, and being to ſtruggle with more difficulties than any woman had ever been put to of her condition, ſhe ſometimes gave vent to that paſſion that was ready to break her heart. He told her, he was deſirous indeed to ſerve her, of which he would not make great or many proteſtations, ſince ſhe could not but believe it, except ſhe thought him to be a fool, or mad, ſince nothing could contribute ſo much to his happineſs, as an eminent ſympathy between the king and her in all things, and he could not give her a greater evidence of his devotion, than in always ſaying that to her which was fit for her to hear, though it did not pleaſe her; and he would obſerve no other rule towards her, though it rendered him ungracious to her. She ſeemed well ſatisfied with what he ſaid, and told him he ſhould never be more welcome to her than when he told her of her faults; to which he replied, it was the province he was accuſed of uſurping with reference to all his friends. He told her, that he doubted ſhe was little beholding to her education, that had given her no better information of the follies and iniquities of mankind, of which he preſumed the climate from whence ſhe came could have given more inſtances than this cold region would afford, though at that time indeed it was very hot. He ſaid, if her majeſty had been fairly dealt with in that particular, ſhe could never have thought herſelf ſo miſerable, and her condition ſo inſupportable, as ſhe ſeemed

to think it to be, the ground of which heavy complaint he could not comprehend: whereupon with ſome bluſhing and confuſion, and ſome tears, ſhe did not think that ſhe ſhould have found the king engaged in his affection to another lady, and then was able to ſay no more; which gave the chancellor an opportunity to ſay, that he knew well, that ſhe had been very little acquainted with or informed of the world; yet could not believe, that ſhe was ſo utterly ignorant, as to expect, that the king, her huſband, in the full ſtrength and vigour of his youth, was of ſo innocent a conſtitution, as to be reſerved for her, whom he had never ſeen, and to have had no acquaintance or familiarity with the ſex; and whether ſhe believed, when it ſhould pleaſe God to ſend a queen to Portugal, ſhe ſhould find that court ſo full of chaſte affection: upon which her majeſty ſmiled and ſpake pleaſantly enough, but as if ſhe thought it did not concern her caſe, and as if the king's affection had not wandered, but remained fixed; upon which the chancellor replied, with ſome warmth, that he came to her with a meſſage from the king, which if ſhe received as ſhe ought to do, and as he hoped ſhe would, ſhe would be the happieſt queen in the world; that whatever correſpondencies the king had entertained with any other ladies, before he ſaw her majeſty, concerned not her, nor ought ſhe to enquire more into them, or after them, than into what other exercifes he had uſed in his youth in France, Holland, or Germany; that he had authority to aſſure her, that all former appetites were expired, and that he dedicated himſelf entirely and without reſerve to her; and that if ſhe met his affection with that warmth, and ſpirit and good humour, which ſhe well knew how to expreſs, ſhe would live a life of the greateſt delight imaginable: that her good fortune

and all the joy ſhe could have in the world, was in her own power, and that ſhe could only drive it from her. She heard all this with apparent pleaſure, and infinite expreſſions of her acknowledgments of the king's bounty, thanked the chancellor more than enough, and deſired him to help in returning her thanks to his majeſty, and in obtaining his pardon for any paſſion or peeviſhneſs ſhe might have been guilty of, and in aſſuring him of all future obedience and duty. Upon this good temper he approached to the other part of his meſſage, how neceſſary it would be that her majeſty ſhould gratify this good reſolution, and juſtice and tenderneſs in the king, by meeting it with a proportionable ſubmiſſion and reſignation to whatſoever his majeſty ſhould deſire of her, and then inſinuated what would be acceptable in reference to the lady: but this was no ſooner mentioned, than it raiſed all the rage and fury of yeſterday with fewer tears, the fire appearing in her eyes, where the water was. She ſaid, that the king's inſiſting upon that particular, could proceed from no other ground, but his hatred of her perſon, and to expoſe her to the contempt of the world, who would think her worthy ſuch an affront, if ſhe ſubmitted to it, which before ſhe would do, ſhe would put herſelf on board any little veſſel, and ſo be tranſported to Liſbon, with many other extravagant expreſſions, which her paſſion ſuggeſted in ſpight of her underſtanding; and which he interrupted with a very ill countenance, and told her, that ſhe had not the diſpoſal of her own perſon, nor could go out of the houſe, where ſhe was, without the king's leave, and therefore adviſed her not to ſpeak any more of Portugal; where, there were enough who would wiſh her to be. He told her, that he could find ſome fitter time to ſpeak with her, and till then only deſired that ſhe would make ſhew

of no ſuch paſſion to the king, and that whatever ſhe thought fit to deny that the king propoſed to her, that ſhe ſhould deny in ſuch a manner, as ſhould look rather like a deferring than an utter refuſal, and that his majeſty might not be provoked to enter into the ſame paſſion, which would be ſuperior to hers.

The chancellor made the more haſte to inform the king of all that had paſſed, that he might prevail with him to ſuſpend for ſome little time the proſecuting that argument further with the queen. He gave him an account of all the good and kind things ſhe had ſaid with reference to his majeſty, of the profeſſions ſhe had made of all duty and obedience to him, throughout the whole courſe of her life; that her unwillingneſs to obey him in this one particular proceeded only from the great paſſion of love which ſhe had for him, that tranſported her beyond the limits of her reaſon. He confeſſed he had not diſcourſed it ſo fully with her majeſty as he reſolved to have done, becauſe a ſudden paſſion had ſeized upon her, which ſhe muſt have ſome time to overrule; and therefore he entreated his majeſty for a day or two to forbear preſſing the queen in that matter, till he had once more waited upon her, by which he hoped he might in ſome degree diſpoſe her majeſty to give him ſatisfaction: and though he was in no degree pleaſed with the account, yet the other did think, that he would for a little have reſpited the further diſcourſe of it: but the king quickly found other counſellors, who told him, that the thing he contended for, was not of ſo much importance, as the manner of obtaining it; that the contention now was who ſhould govern, and if he ſuffered himſelf to be diſputed with, he muſt reſolve hereafter to do all things precarious: and as this advice was more ſuitable to his preſent

ſent paſſion and purpoſe, ſo it was embraced greedily and reſolutely. The fire flamed that night higher than ever: the king reproached the queen with ſtubbornneſs and want of duty; and ſhe him, with tyranny and want of affection. He uſed threats and menaces, which he never intended to put in execution, and ſhe talked loudly how ill ſhe was treated, and that ſhe would return again to Portugal. He replied, that ſhe ſhould do well firſt to know, whether her mother would receive her, and he would give her a fit opportunity to know that, by ſending to their home all her Portugueze ſervants, and that he would forthwith give order for the diſcharge of them all, ſince they behaved themſelves ſo ill; for to them and their councils he imputed all her perverſeneſs. The paſſion and noiſe of the night reached too many ears, to be a ſecret the next day; and the whole court was full of that, which ought to have been known to no body: and the mutual carriage and behaviour between their majeſties confirmed all that they had heard, or could imagine. They ſpake not, hardly looked on one another: every body was glad that they were ſo far from town, (for they were ſtill at Hampton-Court) and that there were ſo few witneſſes of all that paſſed. The queen ſat melancholick in her chamber, in tears, except when ſhe drove them away by a more violent paſſion in cholerick diſcourſe; and the king ſought his divertiſements in that company, that ſaid and did all things to pleaſe him; and there he ſpent all the nights, and in the morning came to the queen's chamber, for he never ſlept in another place. No body knew how to interpoſe, or indeed, how to behave themſelves, the court being far from one mind; with this difference, that the young and frolick people of either ſex talked loudly all that they thought the king would like and

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be pleaſed with, whilſt the other more grave and ſerious people did in their ſouls pity the queen, and thought that ſhe was put to bear more than her ſtrength could ſuſtain. The chancellor came not to the court in two or three days, and when he did come thither, he forbore to ſee the queen, till the king ſent him again to her. His majeſty informed him at large, and with more than his natural paſſion, of all that had paſſed, and of the fooliſh extravagancy (as he called it) of returning to Portugal, and of the poſitive reſolution he had taken, and the orders he had given for the preſent ſending away all the Portugueze, to whom he did impute all his wife's frowardneſs. He renewed his former declaration, that he would gain his point, and never depart from that reſolution; yet was contented to be blamed by the chancellor for having proceeded with ſo much choler and precipitation, and ſeemed to think that he had done better, if he had followed his former advice; but then he added, that beſides the uneaſineſs and pain within himſelf, the thing was more ſpoken of in all places, and more to his diſadvantage, whilſt it was in this ſuſpence, than it would be when it was once executed, which would put a final end to all debates, and all would be forgotten. The chancellor deſired his majeſty to believe that he would endeavour by all the ways he could deviſe to perſwade the queen to ſubmit to his pleaſure, becauſe it is his pleaſure, and that he would urge ſome arguments to her, which he could not himſelf anſwer, and therefore he was not without hope, that they might prevail: but he deſired him likewiſe to believe, that he had much rather ſpend his pains in endeavouring to convert his majeſty from purſuing his reſolution, which he did in his conſcience believe to be unjuſt, than in perſwading her majeſty to comply with it, which

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yet he would very heartily do. He desired him to give him leave to put him in mind of a discourse his majesty had held with him many years, upon an occasion that he had administred, by telling him what his father, the late king, had said to him, that he had great reason to acknowledge it to God's immediate blessing, and in truth to his inspiration, that he continued firm in his religion; for though his father had always taken pains himself to inform and instruct him, yet he had been so much deceived by others, that he put about him, when he was young, a company of the erranteſt knaves and puritans (they were his own words) that could be found in the two kingdoms, whereof he named two or three, who were enemies to the church, and used to deride all religion: that when he had related this discourse accidental of his late majesty, the king replied, that if it should please God ever to give him a wife and children, he would make choice of such people to be about both, in all places of near trust, who in their natures and manners, and, if it were possible, in their very humours were such as he wished his wife and children should be; for he did believe that most young people (and it may be elder) were upon the matter formed by those, whom they saw continually, and could not but observe. The king answered with some quickness, that he remembered the discourse very well, and should think of it, but that the business, which he had commended to him, must be done, and without delay.

When the chancellor was admitted to the queen, he presumed with all plainness to blame her for the illimited passion, in which she had treated the king, and thereby provoked him to greater indignation than she could imagine, or in truth sustain, and that for her own sake she would

would decline and ſuppreſs ſuch diſtempers, which could have no other effect, than in making the wound incurable, which it would do in a very little time more inevitably, and reduce all her faithful ſervants to an incapacity of ſerving her. She acknowledged with tears, that ſhe had been in too much paſſion, and ſaid ſomewhat ſhe ought not to have ſaid, and for which ſhe would willingly aſk the king's pardon upon her knees, though his manner of treating her had wonderfully ſurpriſed, and might be ſome excuſe for more than ordinary commotion; that ſhe prayed to God to give her patience, and hoped ſhe ſhould be no more tranſported with the like paſſion upon what provocation ſoever. Then he intreated that he might find ſome good effect of that her good reſolution, in permitting him to enlarge to her upon that argument he was obliged to diſcourſe to her, and that if he offered any humble advice, it ſhould be ſuch, as he was moſt confident would prove for her benefit, and ſuch as he would himſelf ſubmit to, if he were in her condition. He told her, he came not to defend and juſtify the propoſition that had been made to her concerning the lady, as a juſt and reaſonable propoſition; he had diſſembled his own opinion as to either; and when he ſhould now inſiſt upon it again, which he muſt do, he could not but confeſs, that it was a very hard injunction not to be yielded to without ſome reluctancy: but he beſought her to tell him, whether ſhe thought it in her power to divert it, or that it was not in the king's power to impoſe it upon her. She anſwered, ſhe knew it was in her own power to conſent, or not to conſent to it, and that ſhe could not deſpair but that the king's juſtice aud goodneſs might divert him from the proſecution of a command ſo unreaſonable in him, and ſo diſhonourable to her; ſhe

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would not diſpute the king's power what it might impoſe, being ſure ſhe could not reſcue herſelf from it; but ſhe ſaid no body knew better than he, whether the king was obliged to leave the choice of her own ſervants to herſelf, and if it were otherwiſe, ſhe had been deceived. He told her, that ſhe had, and always would enjoy that privilege; but that it was always underſtood in conditions of that nature, that as the huſband would not impoſe a ſervant againſt whom juſt exceptions could be made, ſo it was preſumed that no wife would refuſe to receive a ſervant that was eſteemed and commended by her huſband; that he did aſſure her, upon as much knowledge as he was capable to have in affairs of ſuch a nature, that the king would exact an entire conformity to his pleaſure in this particular, and then the queſtion would only be, whether it would be better that ſhe conformed herſelf with alacrity to an obedience with theſe circumſtances, which might be obliging and meritorious on her part, or that it ſhould be done without her conſent, and with all the repugnancy ſhe could expreſs, which could only be in angry words, and ungracious circumſtances, which would have a more bitter operation in her own breaſt and thoughts, than any where elſe; and therefore he did very importunately adviſe her to ſubmit to that chearfully which ſhe could not reſiſt, which if ſhe ſhould not do, and do out of hand, ſhe would too late repent: to which ſhe replied with great calmneſs, that it may be worſe could not fall out, than ſhe expected; but why ſhe ſhould repent the not giving her conſent, ſhe could not apprehend, ſince her conſcience would not give her leave to conſent; which, when ſhe ſaw him receive with a face full of trouble and wonder, (which it was his misfortune and weakneſs never to be able to conceal or diſſemble) ſhe

continued her diſcourſe, and ſaid, ſhe could not conceive, how any body could with a good conſcience conſent to what ſhe could not but ſuppoſe would be an occaſion and opportunity of ſin. To which he ſuddenly replied, that he now underſtood her, and that ſhe ought to have no ſuch apprehenſion, but to believe the profeſſions the king made, of the ſincerity whereof ſhe would be hereby become a witneſs; and if there ſhould be any tergiverſation, the opportunity, which ſhe fancied, would be more frequent at a diſtance, which nothing but a reſolved innocence could make deſireable by either party: to which ſhe added, that he thought her majeſty had a meaner and lower opinion of her perſon and her parts, if ſhe thought it could be in the power of any other lady to deprive her of the intereſt ſhe had a right to, if ſhe did all that became her to retain it, and which in that caſe ſhe could not loſe but by the higheſt fraud and perjury, which ſhe could not juſtly entertain the ſuſpicion of. There cannot be a greater patience and intentneſs of hearing, than the queen manifeſted during the time of his diſcourſe; ſometimes ſeeming not diſpleaſed, but oftner by a ſmile declaring, that ſhe did not believe what he ſaid; and in concluſion, in a few words, declared, that the king might do what he pleaſed, but that ſhe could not conſent to it, and pronounced it with a countenance as if ſhe hoped and believed, that her obſtinacy would in the end prevail over the king's importunity; and it is very probable, that ſhe had advice given her to that purpoſe. The chancellor concluded with telling her, that he would give her no more trouble upon this particular; that he was ſorry he had not credit enough to prevail with her majeſty in a point that would have turned ſo much to her benefit, and that ſhe would hereafter be ſorry for her refuſal: and when he had

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given the king a faithful account of all that had paſſed, and that he believed them both to be very much to blame, and that that party would be moſt excuſable, who yielded firſt. He made it his humble ſuit, that he might be no more conſulted with nor employed in an affair, in which he had been ſo unſucceſsful.

The king came ſeldom into the queen's company, and when he did, he ſpake not to her; but ſpent his time in other divertiſements, and in the company of thoſe, who made it their buſineſs to laugh at all the world, and who were as bold with God Almighty, as with any of his creatures. He perſevered in all his reſolutions without any remorſe, directed a day for all the Portugueze to be embarked, without aſſigning any conſiderable thing of bounty to any of them, or vouchſafing to write any letter to the king or queen of Portugal of the cauſe of the diſmiſſion of them; and this rigour prevailed upon the great heart of the queen, who had not received any money to enable her to be liberal to any of thoſe, who had attended her out of their own country, and promiſed themſelves places of great advantage in her family, and ſhe earneſtly deſired the king that ſhe might retain ſome few of thoſe, who were known her, and of moſt uſe, and that ſhe might not be wholly left in the hands of ſtrangers, and employed others to make the ſame ſuit to the king on her behalf. Whereupon the counteſs of Penalva, who had been bred with her from a child, and who by the infirmity of her eyes, and other indiſpoſition of health, ſcarce ſtirred out of her chamber, was permitted to remain in the court; and ſome few other inferior ſervants in her kitchen, and in the loweſt offices, beſides thoſe, who were neceſſary to her devotions, were left here: all the reſt tranſported to Portugal. The

officers of the revenue were required to uſe all ſtrictneſs in the receipt of that part of the portion, that was brought over with the fleet, and not to allow any of thoſe demands, which were made upon the computation of the value of money and other allowances upon the account, and Diego de Sylva, who was deſigned in Portugal, without any good reaſon, to be the queen's treaſurer; and upon that expectation had undertaken that troubleſome province to ſee the money paid in London, by what was aſſigned for that purpoſe, was committed to priſon for not making haſte enough in the payment, and in finiſhing the account. His commitment went very near the queen, as an affront done to herſelf: the Portugal embaſſador, who was a very honeſt man, and ſo deſirous to ſerve the king, that he had upon the matter loſt the queen, was heart-broken; and after a long ſickneſs, which all men believed would have killed him, as ſoon as he was able to endure the air, left Hampton-Court, and retired to his own houſe in the city. In all this time the king purſued his point: the lady came to the court, was lodged there, was every day in the queen's preſence, and the king in continual conference with her, whilſt the queen ſate untaken notice of; and if her majeſty roſe at the indignity, and retired into her chamber, it may be one or two attended her; but all the company remained in the room ſhe left, and too often ſaid thoſe things aloud, which no body ought to have whiſpered. The king, who had in the beginning of this conflict appeared ſtill with a countenance of trouble and ſadneſs, which had been manifeſt to every body, and, no doubt, was really afflicted, and ſometimes wiſhed that he had not proceeded ſo far, until he was again chafed with the reproach of being governed, which he received with the moſt ſenſible indignation, and was com-

commonly provoked with it moſt, by thoſe, who intended moſt to govern him; but he had now vanquiſhed or ſuppreſſed all thoſe tenderneſſes and reluctancies, and appeared every day more gay and pleaſant, without any clouds in his face, and full of good humour, ſaving that the cloſe obſervers thought it more feigned and affected, than of a natural growth: however, to the queen it appeared very real, aad made her the more ſenſible, that ſhe alone was left out in all jollities, and not ſuffered to have any part of thoſe pleaſant applications and careſſes, which ſhe ſaw made almoſt to every body elſe; a univerſal mirth in all company but in hers, and in all places but in her chamber; her own ſervants ſhewing more reſpect and more diligence to the perſon of the lady, than towards their own miſtreſs, who they found could do them leſs good. The nightly meeting continued with the ſame or more licence, and the diſcourſes which paſſed there, of what argument ſoever, was the diſcourſe of the whole court and of the town the day following; whilſt the queen had the king's company thoſe few hours which remained of the preceding night, and which were too little for ſleep. All theſe mortifications were too heavy to be borne, and ſo that at laſt, when it was leaſt expected or ſuſpected, the queen on a ſudden let herſelf fall firſt to converſation, and then to familiarity, and even in the ſame inſtant, to a confidence with the lady; was merry with her in publick, talked kindly of her, and in private uſed no body more friendly. This exceſs of condeſcention, without any provocation or invitation, except by multiplication of injuries and neglect; and after all friendſhips were renewed, and indulgence yielded to new liberty, did the queen leſs good, than her former reſoluteneſs had done; very many looked upon her with much compaſſion,

paſſion, commended the greatneſs of her ſpirit, deteſted the barbarity of the affronts ſhe underwent, and cenſured them as loud as they durſt, not without aſſuming the liberty ſometimes of inſinuating to the king himſelf, how much his own honour ſuffered in the neglect and diſreſpect of her own ſervants, who ought, at leaſt, in publick to manifeſt ſome duty and reverence towards her majeſty, and how much he loſt in the general affections of his ſubjects; and that beſides the diſpleaſure of God Almighty, he could not reaſonably hope for children from the queen, which was the great, if not the only, bleſſing of which he ſtood in need, whilſt her heart was ſo full of grief, and whilſt ſhe was continually exerciſed with ſuch inſupportable afflictions; and many who were not wholly unconverſant with the king, nor ſtrangers to his temper and conſtitution, did believe that he grew weary of the ſtruggle, and even ready to avoid the ſcandal that was ſo notorious, by the lady's withdrawing from the verge of the court, and being no longer ſeen there, how firmly ſoever the friendſhip might be eſtabliſhed, but this ſudden downfal and and totally abandoning her own greatneſs, this low demeanor and even application to a perſon ſhe had juſtly abhorred, and worthily contemned, made all men conclude, that it was a hard matter to know her, and conſequently to ſerve her; and the king himſelf was ſo far from being reconciled by it, that the eſteem, which he could not hitherto but retain in his heart for her, grew now much leſs: he concluded that all her former averſion, expreſſed in thoſe lively paſſions, which ſeemed not capable of diſſimulation, was all fiction, and purely acted to the life, by a nature crafty, perverſe and inconſtant. He congratulated his own ill-natured perſeverance, by which he had diſcovered how he was to behave

have himſelf hereafter, and what remedies he was to apply to all future indiſpoſitions; nor had he ever after the ſame value of her wit, judgment, and underſtanding, which he had formerly, and was well enough pleaſed to obſerve, that the reverence others had for all three was ſomewhat diminiſhed.

The parliament aſſembled together at the ſame time in February, to which they had been adjourned or prorogued, and continued together till the end of July following. They brought the ſame affection and duty with them towards the king, which they had formerly, but were much troubled at what they had heard, and what they had obſerved of the diviſions in court: they had the ſame fidelity for the king's ſervice, but not the ſame alacrity in it; the diſpatch was much ſlower in all matters depending than it had uſed to be: the truth is, the houſe of commons upon the matter was not the ſame: three years ſitting, for it was very near ſo long, ſince they had been firſt aſſembled, had conſumed very many of their members, and in the places of thoſe, who died, great pains were taken to have ſome of the king's menial ſervants choſen; ſo that there was a very great number of men in all ſtations in the court, as well below ſtairs as above, who were members of the houſe of commons; and there were very few of them, who did not think themſelves qualified to reform whatſoever was amiſs in church or ſtate, and to procure whatſoever ſupply the king would require. They who either out of their own modeſty, or in regard of the diſtant relation to his ſervice, had ſeldom had acceſs to his preſence, never had preſumed to ſpeak to him, now by the privilege of parliament every day reſorted to him, and had as much conference with him as they deſired: they according to

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the comprehenſion they had of affairs repreſented their advice to him for the conducting his affairs, according to their ſeveral opinions and obſervations, repreſented theſe and theſe men to be well affected to his ſervice, and others much better than they, and who did not pay them ſo much reſpect, to be ill affected, and to want duty to his majeſty; they brought thoſe who appeared to them to be moſt zealous for his ſervice, becauſe they profeſſed to be ready to do any thing he pleaſed to preſcribe, to receive his majeſty's thanks, and from himſelf the immediate directions how to behave themſelves in the houſe, when the men were capable of no other inſtruction, than to follow the example of ſome diſcreet man in whatſoever he ſhould vote, and behave themſelves accordingly. To this time the king had been content to refer the conduct of his affairs in the parliament to the chancellor and the treaſurer, who had every day conference with ſome ſelect perſons of the houſe of commons, who had always ſerved the king, and upon that account had great intereſt in that aſſembly, and in regard of the experience they had and their good parts were hearkened to with reverence; and with theſe they conſulted in what method to proceed in diſpoſing the houſe, ſometimes to propoſe, ſometimes to conſent to what ſhould be moſt neceſſary for the publick, and by them to aſſign parts to other men, who they found diſpoſed and willing to concur in what was to be deſired, and all this without any noiſe or bringing many together to deſign, which ever was, and ever will be ungrateful to parliament; and however they may ſucceed for a little time, will in the end be attended with prejudice; but there were two perſons now introduced to act upon that ſtage, who diſdained to receive orders, or to have any method preſcribed

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to them, who took upon them to judge of other mens defects, and thought their own abilities beyond exception. The one was Sir Harry Bennet, who had procured himſelf to be ſent agent, or envoy, into Spain, as ſoon as the king came from Bruſſels, being a man very well known to the king, and for his pleaſant and agreeable humour, acceptable to him, and he remained there at much eaſe, till the king returned to England; having waited upon his majeſty at Fontarabia in the cloſe of the treaty between the two crowns, and there appeared by his dexterity to have gained good credit in the court of Spain, and particularly with Don Lewis de Haro, and by that ſhort negociation he renewed and confirmed the former good inclinations of his maſter to him: he had been obliged always to correſpond with the chancellor, by whom his inſtructions had been drawn, and to receive the king's pleaſure by his ſignification, which he had always done, and profeſſed much reſpect and ſubmiſſion to him; though whatever orders he received, and how poſitive ſoever, in particulars which highly concerned the king's honour and dignity, he obſerved ſo far, and not further, than his own humour diſpoſed him, and in ſome caſes flatly diſobeyed what the king enjoined, and did directly the contrary: as in the caſe of the Jeſuit, Peter Talbot, who having carried himſelf with notorious inſolence towards the king, in Flanders, had tranſported himſelf into England, offered his ſervice to Cromwell, and after his death was employed by the ruling powers into Spain, upon his undertaking to procure orders, by which the king ſhould not be ſuffered to reſide longer in Flanders; of all which his majeſty having received full advertiſement, he made haſte to ſend orders into Spain to Sir Harry Bennet, that he ſhould prepare Don Lewis for

his receptions by letting him know, that though that Jeſuit was his natural ſubject, he had ſo miſbehaved himſelf, that he looked upon him as a moſt inveterate enemy and a traitor, and therefore his majeſty deſired that he might receive no countenance there; being, as he well knew, ſent by the greateſt rebels to do him prejudice. This was received by Sir Harry Bennet before the arrival of the man, who found no inconvenience by it; and inſtead of making any complaint concerning him, he wrote word that Talbot had more credit than he in that court; that he profeſſed to have great devotion for the king, and therefore his advice was that the king would have a better opinion of him, and employ him in his ſervice; and himſelf received him into his full confidence, and conſulted with no man ſo much as with him, which made all men believe that he was a Roman Catholick, who did believe he had any religion: but he had made his full excuſe and defence for all this at the interview at Fontarabia, from whence the king returned with marvellous ſatisfaction, in his diſcretion as well as in his affection; and, until contrary to all his expectation, he heard of the king's return into England, all his thoughts were employed how to make benefit of the duke of York's coming into Spain to be Admiral of the Gallies, which he writ to haſten all that might be: though he continued his formal correſpondence with the chancellor, which he could not decline, yet he held a more ſecret intelligence with Daniel O Neale of the bedchamber, with whom he had a long friendſhip. As ſoon as the king arrived in England, he truſted O Neale to procure any direction from the king immediately in thoſe particulars which himſelf adviſed; and ſo he obtained the king's conſent for his conſenting to the old league that had been made between England and Spain in the time of the late

late king, and which Spain had expreſſly refuſed to renew after the death of that king, which was ſuddenly proclaimed in Spain, without ever being conſulted in England, and preſently after leave to return into England without any letter of revocation, both which were procured or rather ſignified by O Neale, without the privity of the chancellor, or either of the ſecretaries of ſtate; nor did either of them know that he was from Madrid, till they heard he was in Paris, from whence he arrived in London in a very ſhort time after; ſo far the chancellor was from that powerful intereſt or influence, when his credit was at the higheſt: but he was very well received by the king, in whoſe affections he had a very good place, and ſhortly after his arrival, though not ſo ſoon as he thought his high merit deſerved, his majeſty conferred the only place then void, and that had been long promiſed to a noble perſon, who had behaved himſelf very well towards his majeſty and his bleſſed father, upon him, which was the office of privy-purſe, received him into great familiarity, and into the nightly meeting, in which he filled a principal place to all intents and purpoſes. The king very much deſired to have him elected a member in the houſe of commons, and commanded the chancellor to uſe his credit to obtain it, upon the firſt opportunity; and in obedience to that command, he did procure him to be choſen about the time we are now ſpeaking of, when the parliament re-aſſembled in February.

The other perſon was Mr. William Coventry, the youngeſt ſon to a very wiſe father, the Lord Coventry, who had been lord keeper of the great ſeal of England for many years with a univerſal reputation. This gentleman was young, whilſt the war continued; yet, he had put himſelf before the end of it into the army, and had the command

of a foot company, and ſhortly after travelled into France, where he remained whilſt there was any hope of getting another army for the king, or that either of the other crowns would engage in his quarrel; but when all thoughts of that were deſperate, he returned into England, where he remained for many years without the leaſt correſpondence with any of his friends beyond the ſeas, and with ſo little reputation of caring much for the king's reſtoration, that ſome of his own family, who were moſt zealous for his majeſty's ſervice, and had always ſome ſignal part in any reaſonable deſign, took care of nothing more, that that nothing they did ſhould come to his knowledge; and gave the ſame advice to thoſe about the king with whom they correſponded, to uſe the ſame caution, not that any body ſuſpected his being inclined to rebels, or to deny any act of treachery; but that the pride and cenſorioufneſs of his nature made him unconverſible, and his deſpair that any thing could be effectually done, made him incompetent to conſult the ways of doing it; nor had he any converſation with any of the king's party, nor they with him, till the king was proclaimed in London, and then he came over with the reſt to offer his ſervice to his majeſty at the Hague, and had the good fortune to find the duke of York without a ſecretary; for though he had a Walloon, that in reſpect of the languages, of which he was maſter, was fit for that function in the army, and had diſcharged it very well for ſome years; yet for the province the duke was now to govern, having the office of high-admiral of England, he was without any fit perſon to diſcharge the office of ſecretary with any tolerable ſufficiency; ſo that Mr. Coventry no ſooner offered his ſervice to the duke, but he was received into that employment very honourable under ſuch a maſter,

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and in itſelf of the greateſt profit, next the ſecretaries of ſtate, if they in that reſpect be to be preferred: he had been well known to the king and duke in France, and had a brother whom the king loved very well, and had promiſed to take into his bedchamber, as he ſhortly after did, Harry Coventry, who was beloved by every body, which made them glad of the preferment of the other, whilſt they, who knew worſt of him, yet knew him able to diſcharge that office, and ſo contributed to the duke's receiving him. He was a ſullen, ill-natured, proud man, whoſe ambition had no limits, nor could be contained within any: his parts were very good, if he had not thought them better than any other man's; and he had diligence and induſtry, which men of good parts are too often without, which made him quickly to have at leaſt credit and power enough with the duke; and he was without thoſe vices, which were too much in requeſt, and which make men moſt unfit for buſineſs, and the truſt that cannot be ſeparated from it. He had ſate a member in the houſe of commons from the beginning of the parliament with very much reputation of a noble man: he ſpake pertinently, and was always very acceptable and well heard, and was one of thoſe with whom they who were truſted by the king in conducting his affairs in the lower houſe, conſulted very frequently; but not ſo much, nor relied equally upon his advice, as upon ſome few others, who had much more experience, which he thought was of uſe only to ignorant and dull men, and that men of ſagacity could ſee and determine at a little light, and ought rather to perſwade and engage men to do that which they judged fit, than conſider what themſelves were inclined to do; and ſo did not think himſelf to be enough valued and relied upon

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and only to be made uſe of to the celebrating the deſigns and contrivances of other men, without being ſignal in the managery, which he aſpired to be; nor did any man envy him the province, if he could indeed have governed it, and that others, who had more uſeful talents, would have been ruled by him: however, being a man, who naturally loved faction and contradiction, he often made experiments how far he could prevail in the houſe, by declining the method, that was preſcribed, and propoſing ſomewhat to the houſe, that was either beſide or contrary to it, and which the others would not oppoſe; believing in regard of his relation, that he had received newer directions: and then if it ſucceeded well (as it ſometimes did) he had argument enough to cenſure and inveigh againſt the chancellor, for having taken ſo ill meaſures of the temper and affections of the houſe; for he did not diſſemble in his private converſation (though his outward carriage was very fair) that he had no kindneſs for him, which in gratitude he ought to have had; nor had he any thing to complain of from him, but that he wiſhed well, and did all he could to defend and ſupport a very worthy perſon, who had deſerved very well from the king, againſt whom he manifeſted a great and cauſeleſs animoſity, and deſired to oppreſs for his own profit, of which he had an immoderate appetite.

When thoſe two perſons, Sir Harry Bennet and Mr. Coventry (between whom there had been as great a league of friendſhip as can be between two very proud men, equally ill-natured) came now to ſit together in the houſe of commons, though the former of them knew no more of the conſtitution and laws of England, than he did of China, nor had in truth a care or tenderneſs for church or ſtate, but believed France was the beſt pattern in the world; they thought

thought they ſhould have the greateſt wrong imaginable, if they did not entirely govern it; and if the king took his meaſures of what ſhould be done there, from any body but themſelves, they made friendſhips with ſome young men, who ſpake confidently, and often upon ſome occaſions ſeemed to have credit in the houſe; and upon a little converſation with theſe men, who being country gentlemen of ordinary condition, and mean fortunes, were deſirous to have intereſt in ſuch a perſon as Sir Harry Bennet, who was believed to have great credit with the king, he believed he underſtood the houſe, and what was to be done there, as well as any man in England. He recommended theſe men to the king, as perſons of ſublime parts, worthy of his majeſty's careſſing, that he would undertake to fix them to his ſervice, and when they were his own, he might carry what he would in the houſe of commons. The men had parts indeed, and good affections, and often had reſorted to the chancellor, received advice from him, and thought themſelves beholding to him, being at that time entirely governed by Sir Hugh Pollard, who was himſelf ſtill adviſed by the chancellor (with whom he had a long and faſt friendſhip) how he ſhould direct his friends, having indeed a greater party in the houſe of commons, willing to be diſpoſed by him, than any man that ever ſate there in my time: but now theſe gentlemen had got a better patron, the new courtier had raiſed their value, and talked in another dialect to them of recompences and rewards, than they had heard formerly: he carried them to the king, and told his majeſty in their own hearing, what men of parts they were, what ſervices they had done for him, and how much greater they could do; and his majeſty received and conferred with them very graciouſly, and diſmiſſed, with promiſes,

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which made them rich already. The two friends before-mentioned agreed ſo well between themſelves, that whether they ſpake together or apart to the king, the ſaid always the ſame things, and gave the ſame informations, and took care that both their maſters might have the ſame opinions and judgments they magnified of the affections of the houſe of commons, which were ſo great and united, that they would do whatſoever his majeſty could require; that there were many worthy and able men, of whoſe wiſdom the houſe was ſo well perſwaded, that they commonly conſented to whatſoever they propoſed; and that theſe men complained, that they had no directions given to them, which way they might beſt ſerve the king, they knew not what he deſired, which, when they ſhould do, it would quickly appear how much they were at the king's diſpoſal; and all things, which now depended long, would be hereafter diſpatched in half the the time. The king wondered very much, that his friends in the houſe were no better informed, of which he had never heard any complaint before, and wiſhed them to ſpeak to the chancellor: for neither of theſe men were yet arrived at the confidence to inſinuate in the leaſt degree any ill-will or prejudice to him (though they were not united in any one thing more, than the deſire of his ruin, and the reſolution to compaſs it by all the ill arts and devices they could uſe; but till it ſhould be more ſeaſonable, they diſſembled to both their maſters to have a high eſteem of him, having not yet credit enough with either to do him harm) they ſaid, they would very willingly repair to him, and be directed by him; but they deſired that his majeſty himſelf would firſt ſpeak to him (becauſe it would not ſo well become them) to call thoſe perſons, whom they had recommended, to meet together with

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the reſt, with whom he uſed to adviſe; which the perſons they named they were ſure would be very glad of, having all of them a great eſteem of the chancellor, and being well known to him, as indeed they were, and moſt of them obliged by him. The king willingly undertook it, and being ſhortly after attended by the chancellor, his majeſty told him all that the other two had ſaid to him, and did not forget to let him know the great good will they had both profeſſed towards him: he aſked him what he thought of ſuch and ſuch men, and particularly named Mr. Clifford and Mr. Churchill, and ſome other men of better quality and much more intereſt, who he ſaid took it ill, that they were not particularly informed what the king deſired, and which way they might beſt ſerve him; and bade him at the next meeting of the reſt, theſe men might likewiſe have notice to be preſent, together with Sir Harry Bennet and Mr. William Coventry; for Harry Coventry (who was a wiſer man than his brother, and had a much better reputation with wiſe men) was conſtantly in thoſe councils. The chancellor told him, that great and notorious meetings and cabals in parliament had been always odious in parliaments, and though they might produce ſome ſucceſs in one or two particulars, till they were diſcovered, they had always ended unluckily, until they were introduced in the late ill times by ſo great a combination that they could not receive any diſcountenance; yet that they, who compaſſed all their wicked deſigns by theſe cabals, were ſo jealous that they might be overmatched by the like practices, that when they diſcovered any three or four of thoſe, who never uſed to concur with them, to have any private meetings, they accuſed them to conſpire againſt the parliament: that when his majeſty returned, and all the world was full of joy and

delight to ſerve him, and perſons were willing and importunate to receive direction how they might do it in that convention, care had been taken without any noiſe, nor bringing any prejudice upon thoſe, who were willing to be inſtruments towards the procuring what was deſirable, and to prevent what would be ungrateful, that little notice might be taken of them, which had good ſucceſs: that ſince this parliament the lord treaſurer and he had by his majeſty's direction made choice of ſome perſons eminent for their affection to the crown, of great experience and known abilities, to confer with for the better preparing and conducting what was to be done in the houſe of commons; but the number of them was not ſo great, as to give any umbrage; nor did they meet oftner together with them, than upon accidents and contingencies was abſolutely neceſſary, but appointed thoſe few, who had a mutual confidence in each other, and every one of which had an influence upon others, and adviſed them what to do, to meet by themſelves, either at the lord Bridgeman's, or Mr. attorney's chambers, who ſtill gave notice to the other two of what was neceſſary, and received advice, that there were very few of a notable conſideration, who did not frequent to both of them, either to dine with them, or to perform ſome office of civility; with every one of whom they conferred, and ſaid what was neceſſary to inform and oblige them what was fit for them to do: that two of thoſe, who were named by his majeſty, Mr. Clifford and Mr. Churchill were honeſt gentlemen, and received the advice they were to follow from Sir Hugh Pollard, who had in truth a very particular influence upon all the Corniſh and Devonſhire men; and that his majeſty might know that he had not been well informed, that the others named by him took it

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unkindly that they did not know his pleaſure, who were leading men, as indeed they were. He aſſured his majeſty that there was not one of thoſe, who was not particularly conſulted with and advertiſed by ſome perſon, who was choſen by every one of them for that perſon, and that they would by no means reſort to any meeting, fearing to undergo the odious name of undertakers, which in all parliaments hath been a brand; but as they had never oppoſed any thing that related to his ſervice, ſo upon any private inſinuation, they had been ready to propoſe any thing, which would not have been ſo acceptable from any, who had been known to have relation to his ſervice, or to depend upon thoſe, who had. He beſought his majeſty to conſider whether any thing had hitherto, in near three years, fallen out amiſs, or ſhort of what he had expected, in the wary adminiſtration, that had been in that affair, and did not conceal his own fears; that putting it into a wider and more open channel, his majeſty's own too publick ſpeaking with the members of parliament, and believing what every man, who was preſent, told him, paſſed in debates, and who for want of comprehenſion as well as memory, committed many miſtakes in their relations, would be attended with ſome inconveniences not eaſy to be remedied. The king was not diſſatisfied with the diſcourſe, but ſeemed to approve it: however, he would have Sir Harry Bennet, Mr. Clifford, and Churchill, called to the next meeting; and becauſe they were to be introduced into company they had not uſed to converſe with, that it ſhould be at the chancellor's chamber, who ſhould let the reſt know the good opinion his majeſty had of thoſe who were added to the number.

By theſe means, and with theſe circumſtances, this alteration was made in the conduct of the king's ſervice in the

parliament, upon which many other alterations followed by degrees, though not at once; yet presently it appeared, that this introduction of new confidents was not acceptable to those, who thought they had very well discharged their trust. Sir Harry Bennet was utterly unknown to them: a man unversed in any business, who never had, nor ever was like to speak in the house, except in his ear who sat next him, to the disadvantage of some who had spoken, and had not the faculties to get himself loved; and was thought by all men to be a Roman Catholick, for which they had no other reason but from his indifference in all things which concern the church. When they met first at the chancellor's chamber, as the king had directed, they conferred freely together with little difference of opinion, though it appeared that they, who had used to be together before, did not use the same freedom as formerly in delivering their particular judgments, not having confidence enough in the new comers, who in their private meetings afterwads took more upon them, rather to direct, than to advise; that the other grew unsatisfied in their conversation, and though the meetings continued at one of the places before-mentioned, some always discontinued their attendance; so that by degrees there were less resolutions taken, than had been formerly, nor was there so chearful a concurrence, or so speedy a dispatch of the business depending in the house, as had been; however, there appeared nothing of disunion in the parliament but the same zeal and concurrence in all things which related to the king. The murmurs and discontents were most in the country, where the people began to talk with more licence and less reverence of the court, and of the king himself, and to reproach the parliament for their raising so much money, and increasing of the impositions

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upon the kingdom, without having done any thing for the redreſs of any grievance that lay upon the people. The licence with reference to religion grew every day greater, and conventicles more frequent, and more inſolent, which diſturbed the country exceedingly; but not ſo much as the liberty the papiſts aſſumed, who behaved themſelves with indiſcretion, and bragged as if they had a toleration, and cared not what the magiſtrates could do. The parliament had a deſire to have provided againſt thoſe evils, with the ſame rigour; but though there would have been a general conſent in any proviſion that could be made againſt the fanaticks and the conventicles; yet there could not be the like concurrence againſt the papiſts, and it was not poſſible to carry on the one without the other, and therefore the court, that they might be ſure to prevent the laſt, interrupted all that was propoſed againſt the former, which they wiſhed provided againſt, and choſe to have neither out of fear of both, which increaſed the diſorders in the country, and cauſed more reflections upon the court; ſo that this ſeſſion of parliament produced leſs of moment, than any other; and the king after they had given him four ſubſidies, which was all the money they could be drawn to give, that he might part as kindly with them as he uſed to do; and upon diſcovery of ſeveral ſeditious meetings amongſt the officers of the diſbanded army, which he could beſt ſuppreſs, when he had moſt leiſure, he reſolved to prorogue the parliament; and ſo ſending for them on the 27th of July, he thanked them for the preſent which they had made to him of the four ſubſidies, which he told them he would not have received from them, if it were not abſolutely neceſſary for their peace and quiet, as well as his, and that it would yet do him very little good, if he did not improve it by very good huſbandry

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of his own, and by retrenching thoſe very expences, which in many reſpects might be thought neceſſary enough; but they ſhould ſee, that he would much rather impoſe upon himſelf, than upon his ſubjects, and if all men would follow his example in retrenching their expences, which poſſibly they might do with much more convenience, than he could to his, the kingdom muſt in a ſhort time gain, what they had given him that day. He told them, he was very glad that they were going into their ſeveral countries, where their preſence would do much good; and he hoped their vigilance and authority would prevent thoſe diſturbances, which the reſtleſs ſpirits of ill and unquiet men would be always contriving, and of which his majeſty did aſſure them, they promiſed themſelves ſome effects that ſummer, and that there had been more pains and unuſual ways taken to kindle the old fatal fears and jealouſies, than he thought he ſhould ever have lived to have ſeen, at leaſt to have ſeen ſo countenanced. He told them, that he had expected to have had ſome bills preſented to him againſt the ſeveral diſtempers in religion, againſt ſeditious conventicles, and againſt the growth of popery; but that it might be they had been in ſome fear of reconciling thoſe contradictions in religion, into ſome conſpiracy againſt the publick peace, to which himſelf doubted men of the moſt contrary motives in conſcience were inclinable enough. He did promiſe them that he would lay that buſineſs to heart, and the miſchiefs which might flow from thoſe licences, and if he lived to meet with him again, as he hoped he ſhould, he would himſelf take care to preſent two bills to them to that end; and that as he had already given it in charge to the judges in their ſeveral circuits to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to prevent and puniſh the ſcandalous and ſeditious meetings of

ſectaries, and to convict the papiſts; ſo he would be as watchful, and take all the pains they could that neither the one or the other ſhould diſturb the peace of the kingdom: and adding many gracious expreſſions of his eſteem and confidence in their affections, he cauſed them to be prorogued towards the end of March, which would be the beginning of the year 1664.

The king had an intention at that time to have prepared againſt the next meeting two ſuch bills as he mentioned to them, and was well enough content that the parliament had not preſented them to him, which he well foreſaw would not have been ſuch as he ſhould have been pleaſed with. He would have filled the moſt rigorous acts againſt all the other factions in religion, but did not think the papiſts had deſerved the ſame ſeverities, which would have been provided againſt them with the other; it being very apparent, that the kingdom generally had reſumed their old jealouſies of them, provoked by the very unwary behaviour of that people, who bragged of more credit in the court, than they could juſtify, though moſt men thought they had too much, and that was the reaſon that he had commanded the chancellor to require the judges, who were then beginning their circuits, to cauſe the Roman Catholicks to be convicted, which he believed would allay much of the jealouſies in the country, as for the preſent it did: and then he reſolved to cauſe two ſuch bills to be prepared, for ſeveral reaſons, of which the principal was, that he might divide them into two bills, preſuming, that when he had ſent one againſt the other, they would not affect reducing both into one; which was that the catholick party moſt apprehended. His majeſty was himſelf very unſatisfied with the imprudent carriage of the catholicks, and thought they did affect too much

much to appear, as if they ſtood upon the level with all other ſubjects; and he received very particular and unqueſtionable information, that ſome prieſts had made it an argument to ſome whom they endeavoured to make their proſelytes, that the king was of their religion in his heart, and would ſhortly declare it to all the world, with which his majeſty was marvellouſly offended, and did heartily deſire that any of thoſe indiſcreet perſons might be proceeded againſt with ſeverity; yet he had no mind that any man ſhould be put to death, which could hardly be avoided, if any man ſhould be brought to trial in the caſe aforeſaid, except he had granted his pardon, which with thoſe circumſtances would have carried ſcandal in it. Beſides, he did think the wiſeſt of that party had not carried themſelves with modeſty enough, with what was good for themſelves, and his majeſty's honour; and therefore he had, without imparting it to any friends of theirs, given that direction to the judges for convicting them, as the beſt means to reclaim them to a better temper; and he had a purpoſe that the bill, he meant ſhould be prepared, ſhould more effectually perform that part, without expoſing them to any notable inconveniences in their perſons, or their fortunes, if they behaved themſelves well and warily. He did believe that it was neceſſary for his ſervice, that they ſhould be all convicted, that it might be evident to himſelf what their numbers conſiſted of, and amounted to, which he believed would be found much inferior to what they were generally computed, and then the danger from their power would not be thought ſo formidable, and it would be no prejudice to them without a farther proceeding upon their conviction, which he was reſolved to reſtrain as well as he might, and had done hitherto, reſolving within himſelf that no man ſhould

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ſuffer under thoſe penal laws, which had been made againſt them in the age before, if they lived like good ſubjects, and adminiſtred no occaſion of ſcandal; and as he was not reſerved in declaring, that his gracious purpoſe towards them, as hath been ſaid before, ſo hitherto it had not been attended with any murmurs; and yet he was not without a purpoſe of keeping ſuch a power over them, as might make them wholly depend upon him. His majeſty did, in his judgment and inclination, put a great difference between thoſe Roman Catholicks, who being of ancient extraction had continued of the ſame religion from father to ſon, without having ever been proteſtant, amongſt whom there were very few, who had not behaved themſelves very worthily, and thoſe, who ſince the late troubles had apoſtatized from the church of England to that of the Roman, without any ſuch evidence of conſcience, as might not adminiſter juſt reaſon to ſuſpect that their inducements had been from worldly temptation: and he did reſolve in his bill to make a diſtinction between thoſe claſſes, and to prevent, or at leaſt diſcourage thoſe lapſes, which fall out too frequently in the court; nor did men believe that they need make any apology for it, but appeared the more confidently in all places. He did reſolve likewiſe to contract and leſſen the number of the eccleſiaſtical perſons, who upon miſſions reſorted hither, as to an infidel nation, which was and is a grievance that the catholicks would be glad to be eaſed in, and to reduce them into ſuch an order and method by this bill, that he might himſelf know the names of all prieſts remaining in the kingdom, and the ſeveral ſtations where they reſided; which muſt have produced ſuch a ſecurity to thoſe who ſtayed, and to thoſe with whom they ſtayed, as would have ſet them free from any apprehenſion of any penalties im-

poſed by preceding parliaments; but this deſign (which comprehended many other particulars) vaniſhed, as ſoon as it was diſcovered. The king's own diſcourſe of a bill, that he would cauſe to be drawn againſt the Roman Catholicks, awakened great jealouſies; nor did they want inſtruments or opportunities to diſcover what the meaning of it could be, nor was the king reſerved in the argument, but communicated it with thoſe who he knew were well affected to that party, and to one or two two of themſelves, who were reputed to be moderate men, and to deſire nothing but the exerciſe of their religion with the greateſt ſecreſy and caution, and who often informed and complained of the folly and vanity of ſome of their friends, and more particularly of the preſumption of the Jeſuits; and ſuch kind of factions and diviſions there are amongſt them, which might be cultivated to very happy productions; but ſuch ingenuity, as to be contented with what might gratify all their own pretences is not amongſt them. Theſe moderate men complained already that the king was deceived by their enemy the chancellor, who, indeed, was generally very odious to them, for no other reaſon, but becauſe they knew he was irreconcileable to their profeſſion, not that they thought he deſired that the laws ſhould be put in execution againſt them, and ſome of the chief of them believed him to be much their friend, and had obligations to him: but they all lamented this direction given to the judges for their conviction, which they informed the king was the neceſſary preamble to the higheſt perſecution the law had prepared againſt them: that, till they were convicted, they were in the ſame predicament with the reſt of his ſubjects, but as ſoon as they were convicted, which the judges now cauſed to be proſecuted throughout the kingdom, they were liable to all

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the other penalties, which his majeſty was inclined to protect them from. They preſented to him a ſhort memorial of the diſadvantages which were conſequent to a conviction, in which they alledged ſome particulars, which were not clear in the law, at leaſt, had never been practiſed in the ſevereſt times; though the king had well weighed all he had done before he did it, and well knew after all their inſinuations and allegations, that none of thoſe inconveniences could enſue to them, if he reſtrained any further proſecution, which he always had intended to do; yet they wrought ſo far upon him, that he even was ſorry that he had proceeded ſo far, and though it was not fit to revoke any part of it, yet he cared not how little it was advanced: and for the bill he meant to preſent in the next ſeſſion, they ſaid all their ſecurity and quiet they had enjoyed ſince his majeſty's happy return, depended wholly upon the general opinion, that he had favour for them, and ſatisfaction in their duty and obedience as good ſubjects, and their readineſs to do him any ſervice, which they would all make good with their lives, and all that they had; but if he ſhould diſcover any jealouſies of their fidelities, and that there was need of a new law againſt them, which his purpoſe of providing a bill implied, what mitigations ſoever his majeſty intended in it, it would not be in his majeſty's power to reſtrain the paſſion of other men; but all thoſe animoſities, which had been hitherto covered and concealed, as grateful to him, would upon this occaſion break out to their deſtruction; and therefore they hoped that whatever bitterneſs the parliament might expreſs againſt them, when they came together, that they ſhould receive no invitation or encouragement by any jealouſy or diſpleaſure his majeſty ſhould manifeſt to have towards them. Theſe and the like

arguments, or the credit of thoſe who urged them, made that impreſſion, that he declined any further thought of that bill, nor was there ever after mention of it. The catholicks grew bolder in all places, and converſant in thoſe rooms of the court, into which the king's chaplains never preſumed to enter, and to crown all their hopes, the lady declared herſelf of that faith, and inveighed ſharply againſt the church ſhe had been bred in.

During the interval of the parliament there was not ſuch a vacation from trouble and anxiety, as was expected: the domeſtick unquietneſs in the court made every day more noiſe abroad; infinite ſcandals and calumnies were ſcattered amongſt the people, and they expreſſed their diſcontents upon the great taxes and impoſitions which they were compelled to pay, and publickly reproached the parliament when they were in truth vexed and grieved at heart, for that which they durſt not avow, and did really believe that God was angry with the nation, and reſolved to exerciſe it under greater tribulation, than he had ſo lately delivered them from. The general want of money was complained of, and a great decay of trade; ſo that the native commodities of the kingdom were not tranſported: yet both theſe were but pretences, and reſulted from combinations rather than from reaſon; for it appeared by the cuſtoms, that the trade was greater than it had ever been, though ſome of our native commodities, eſpecially cloth, ſeemed for ſome time to be at a ſtand, which proceeded rather from the preſent glut, which in the general licence the interlopers had irregularly tranſported in great quantities, by which the prices were brought low, and could only be recovered by a reſtraint for ſome time, which the merchant adventurers put upon themſelves, and would have put upon the interlopers, who were

at laſt too hard for them, even upon the matter to the ſuppreſſing the company, that had ſtood in great reputation for very many years, and had advanced that manufacture to a greater height: and whether it deſerved that diſcountenance, time muſt decide. How unreaſonable the other diſcourſe was of want of money, there need no other argument but the great purchaſes which were every day made of great eſtates; nor was any conſiderable parcel of land in any part of England offered to be ſold, but there was a purchaſer at hand ready to buy it. However, theſe pretences, together with the ſudden bringing up all the money that was collected for the king, in ſpecie to London, which proceeded from the bankers advancing ſo much preſent money for the emergent occaſions, for which they had thoſe aſſignments upon the money of the country, did really produce ſuch a ſudden fall of the rents throughout the kingdom, as had never been known before; ſo that men were compelled to abate generally a fourth part of their annual rents at the leaſt, or to take their lands into their own hands, for which they were as ill provided. All this miſchief fell upon the nobility and greateſt gentry, who were owners of the greateſt eſtates; every body, whoſe eſtate lay in land, undergoing his ſhare in the ſuffering, which made the diſcontent general, which they thought the beſt to remedy would be to raiſe no more taxes, which they took to be the cauſe why the rents fell. In the mean time the expences of the court, and all who depended upon it, grew ſtill higher, and the king himſelf leſs intent upon his buſineſs, and more loved his pleaſures, to which he preſcribed no limits, nor to the expences which could not but accompany them. There was cauſe enough to be jealous of the publick peace, there being every day diſcoveries made of private meetings and conferences between officers

officers of the old army, and that correſpondencies were ſettled between them throughout the kingdom in a wonderful manner, and that they had a grand committee reſiding in London, who had the ſupreme power, and which ſent orders to all the reſt, who were to riſe in one day, and meet at ſeveral rendezvous. Hereupon ſeveral perſons were apprehended and committed to priſon, and the king himſelf often took pains to examine them, and they confeſſed commonly more to his majeſty himſelf than upon any other examination: proclamations iſſued often for the baniſhing all officers, who had ever borne arms againſt the king, twenty miles from London; which did more publiſh the apprehenſion of new troubles. There can be no doubt, but that there were many ſeditious purpoſes amongſt that people, of which theſe often appeared ſo full evidence, that many were executed for high treaſon, who were tried and condemned by the judges at the general ſeſſions at Newgate; yet there was often cauſe to believe, that many were committed, who, in truth, had not been more faulty than in keeping ill company, and in hearing idle diſcourſes. Informing was grown a trade, which many affected to get money by, and as the king's miniſters could not reject in a time of ſo much jealouſy, ſo the receiving them gave them great trouble; for few of them were willing to be produced as evidence againſt thoſe they accuſed, pretending ſometimes with reaſon, that, if they were known, they ſhould be rendered uſeleſs for the future: whereas they were yet unſuſpected, and admitted into all councils. All the ſects in religion ſpake with more boldneſs in their meetings, and met more frequently than they had uſed to do in the times that Sir Richard Browne and Sir John Robinſon had been lord mayors, and the officers

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who ſucceeded them, proved leſs vigilant. A general deſpondency ſeemed to poſſeſs the minds of men, as if they little cared what came to paſs, which did not proceed ſo much from malice, as from the diſeaſe of murmuring, which had been contracting above twenty years, and became almoſt incorporated into the nature of the nation.

There happened about this time an alteration in the court, that produced afterwards many other alterations which were not then ſuſpected; yet, even at that time, was not liked in the court itſelf, and leſs out of it. The keeper of the privy-purſe, who was more fit for that province than for any other to which he could be applied, did not think himſelf yet preferred to a ſtation worthy of his merit and great qualifications, ſome promiſes the king had made to him when he was at Fontarabia, and the long much kindneſs for his perſon, and much delight in his company; ſo that his friend, Mr. O Neale, who was ſtill ready to put his majeſty in mind of all his ſervices, had nothing hard to do, but to find a vacancy, that might give opportunity for his advancement, and he was dexterous in making opportunities, which he could not find, and made no ſcruple to inſinuate to the king, that the abilities of neither of his ſecretaries were ſo great, but that he might be better ſerved. Indeed his majeſty, who did not naturally love old men, had not ſo much eſteem of them, as their parts, and induſtry and integrity deſerved, and would not have been ſorry, if either or both of them had died. Secretary Nicholas had ſerved the crown very many years, with very good acceptation, was made ſecretary of ſtate by the late king, and loved and truſted by him in his neareſt concernments to his death; nor had any man, who ſerved him, a more general reputation of virtue, and piety and unqueſtionable in-

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tegrity throughout the kingdom. He was a man, to whom the rebels had been always irreconcileable, and from the end of the war lived in baniſhment beyond the ſeas; was with his majeſty from the time he left France; for whilſt the king was in France with his mother, to whom the ſecretary was not gracious, he remained at a diſtance; but from the time that his majeſty came into Germany, he was always with him in the exerciſe of the ſame function he had under his father, and returned into England with him, with hope to repair his fortune by the juſt perquiſites of his office, which had been very much impaired by his long ſufferings and baniſhment. He had never been in his youth a man of quick and ſudden parts, but full of induſtry and application, (which it may be is the better compoſition) and always verſed in buſineſs, and all the forms of diſpatch. He was now ſome years above ſeventy, yet truly performed his office, with punctuality, and to the ſatisfaction of all men who repaired to him; and the king thought it an envious as well as ill-natured thing, to diſcharge ſuch an officer, becauſe he lived too long. The other ſecretary was ſecretary Morrice, whoſe merit it had been his having tranſacted all that had been between the king and the general, which was thought to be much more than it was; yet he had behaved himſelf very well, and as much diſpoſed the general as he was capable of being diſpoſed; and his majeſty had preferred him to that office purely to gratify and oblige the general, and he had behaved himſelf very honeſtly and diligently in the king's ſervice, and had a good reputation in the houſe of commons, and did the buſineſs of his office without reproach. He had lived moſt part of his time in the country, with the repute of a wiſe man and a good ſcholar, as indeed he was, both in the Latin and Greek

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learning; but being without any knowledge in the modern languages, he gave the king often occaſion to laugh at his unſkilful pronunciation of many words. In the Latin diſpatches, which concern all the northern parts, he was ready, and treated with thoſe embaſſadors fluently and elegantly, and for all domeſtick affairs no man doubted his ſufficiency, except in the garb and mode and humour of the court: and the inducement that brought him in, made it unfit to remove him, leaſt it might grieve the general, whoſe friend and kinſman he was; ſo that there was no expedient to provide for Sir Harry Bennet, but by removing ſecretary Nicholas by his own conſent; for the king would not do it otherwiſe to ſo old and faithful a ſervant, and his majeſty was the more inclined to it, becauſe it would give him the opportunity to bring another perſon into the office of the privy-purſe, of whom he was lately grown very fond, and to whom he had, when he came into England, a greater averſion, than to any gentleman, who had been abroad with him, and that was Sir Charles Berkeley, who was then captain of the duke of York's guard, and much in the good grace of his royal highneſs.

Whilſt this intrigue was contriving and depending, great care was taken that it might not come to the notice of the chancellor, leſt, if he could not divert the king from deſiring it, which they believed he would not attempt, he might diſſwade his old friend the ſecretary, with whom he had held a long and particular friendſhip, from hearkening to any propoſition, or to accept any compoſition, which they believed not unreaſonably that the other would be very ſolicitous in, as well as to keep a man in, whom he could entirely truſt, as to keep another out, of whoſe abilities he had no eſteem, and in whoſe affection he had no confidence; and

it was thought by many that the ſame apprehenſion prevailed with the good old man himſelf to cheriſh the ſecret: certain it is, that the whole matter was reſolved and conſented to, before ever the chancellor had a ſuſpicion of it. O Neale, who had always the ſkill to bring that to paſs by others, which he could not bareſaced appear in himſelf, inſinuated to Mr. Aſhburnham, who pretended, and I think had much friendſhip for the ſecretary, that the king thought the ſecretary too old to take ſo much pains, and often wiſhed that his friends would perſwade him to retire, that there might be a younger man in the office, who could attend upon his majeſty at all hours, and in all journies; but that his majeſty always ſpake kindly of him, and as if he reſolved to give him an ample recompence; and in confidence told him, that the king had an impatient deſire to have Sir Harry Bennet ſecretary of ſtate. Aſhburnham was well verſed in the artifices of court too, and thought he might very well perform the office of a friend to his old confident, and at the ſame time find a new and more uſeful friend for himſelf, by having a hand in procuring a large ſatisfaction for the old, and likewiſe facilitating the way for the introduction of a new ſecretary, who could not forget the obligation: ſo he told O Neale, that all the world knew that he had for many years profeſſed as great friendſhip for ſecretary Nicholas (they had been both ſervants at the ſame time to the duke of Buckingham when he was killed) and that he ſhould be much troubled to ſee him diſplaced in his old age with contempt; but if his majeſty would diſmiſs him with honour and reward, that he might be able to provide for his wife and children, he would make no ſcruple to perſwade him to quit his employment. O Neale had all he looked for, and only enjoined him ſecrecy, that it might

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not come to the king's ear, that he had communicated this ſecret to any man, and he did preſume that before any reſolution was taken in it, his majeſty would ſpeak of it to the chancellor. Within a day or two the king ſent for Aſhburnham, and told him, he knew he was a friend to the ſecretary, who was now grown old and not able to take the pains he had done; that he had ſerved his father and himſelf very faithfully, and had ſpent his fortune in his ſervice; that if he were willing to retire, for without his conſent he would do nothing, he would give him ten thouſand pounds, or any other recompence he ſhould chuſe, implying a title of honour; but intimated, though he referred all to his own will, that he wiſhed, and that it would be acceptable to him, that the office might be vacant, and at his majeſty's diſpoſal. He undertook the employment very chearfully, and quickly imparted all that had paſſed from the king, and all that he knew before to the ſecretary, who was not fond of the court, and thought he had lived long enough there, having ſeen and obſerved much, that he was grieved at heart to ſee: he conſidered, that though his meſſage was very gracious, and offered a noble reward for his ſervice, it did withal appear, that the king did deſire he ſhould be gone; and having deſigned a ſucceſſor, who had already much credit with him, if he ſhould ſeem ſullen or unwilling, he might in a ſhort time be put out without any conſideration, or at moſt with the promiſe of one. Hereupon he wiſhed his friend to aſſure the king, that he would very readily do whatſoever his majeſty thought neceſſary for his ſervice; but he hoped, that after above forty years ſpent in the ſervice of the crown, he ſhould not be expoſed to diſgrace and contempt; that he had a wife and children, who all had ſuffered with him in exile, till his majeſty's re-

turn, and for whom he could not make a competent provision, without his majesty's bounty, and therefore he hoped that before his majesty required the signet, he would cause the recompence he designed, to be more than what he had mentioned, and to be first paid. This province could not be put into a fitter hand, for it was managed with notable skill; and as soon as it was known that the secretary would willingly resign, which was feared, and that only a better recompence was expected, every body was willing that the king should make the act look as graciously as might be, that the successor might be attended with the less envy; and Mr. Ashburnham cultivated their impatience so skilfully, that it cost the king in present money, and land or lease, very little less than twenty thousand, to bring in a servant whom very few cared for, in the place of an old servant, whom every body loved; and he received all that was promised, before he resigned his place, and if the change had been as good for the king, as it was for the good old secretary, every body would have been glad; and thus Sir Harry Bennet was at the king's charge accommodated even to the satisfaction of his own ambition, and his majesty was as well pleased that he had gotten Sir Charles Berkeley into the other office about his person, whom he every day loved with more passion, for what reason no man knew nor could imagine: and from this time they, who stood at any near distance, could not but discern, that the chancellor's interest and credit with the king manifestly declined, not that either of these two pretended to be his rival, or appeared to cross any thing in council that he proposed, or advised; on the contrary, they both professed great respect towards him: one of them, being no privy-counsellor, made great professions and addresses to him by himself and some friends,

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who had much credit with him, proteſted againſt meddling at all in buſineſs, and that he only hoped to gain a fortune by his majeſty's favour, upon which he might be able to live; nor did it appear afterwards to his death that he did wiſh that the chancellor's power ſhould be leſſened, and the other made all the profeſſions imaginable of affection and reſpect to him; repaired upon occaſions to him for advice and direction; nor, in truth, could either of them have done him any prejudice at that time with the king, by pretending to do it; but by pretending the contrary, by degrees got power to do it. His majeſty did not in the leaſt degree withdraw his favour from him, heard him as willingly, came as often to him, was as little reſerved in any thing, only in one particular he did with ſome ſolemnity conjure him never to mention it to him again, in which he did not yet punctually obey him; nor avoid ſeaſonable ſaying any thing to him, which he believed to be his duty, and which his majeſty never ſeemed to take ill: and whenever he ſpake to him of either of the other two gentlemen, which he frequently did with much kindneſs, he always added ſomewhat of both their reſpects and eſteem for him, as a thing that pleaſed him well, and ſaid once, that it concerned them; for whenever he ſhould diſcern it to be otherwiſe, he ſhould make them repent it: yet, notwithſtanding all this, from that time councils were not ſo ſecret, and greater liberty taken to talk of the publick affairs in the evening converſation than had been before, when they happened ſometimes to be ſhortly mentioned in the production of ſome wit or jeſt; but now they were often taken into debate, and cenſured with two much liberty, with reference to things and perſons, and the king himſelf was leſs fixed and more irreſolute in his councils, and inconvenient grants came every day to the

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ſeals, for the benefit of particular perſons, againſt which the king had particularly reſolved, and, at laſt, by importunity, would have paſſed: laſtly, both theſe were moſt devoted to the lady, and much depended upon her intereſt, and conſequently were ready to do any thing that would be grateful to her.

There was another miſchief contrived about this time, that had a much worſe influence upon the publick, except we ſhall call it the ſame, becauſe it did in truth proceed from it. Though the publick ſtate of affairs, in reſpect of the diſtempers and diſcompoſures which are mentioned before, and that the expences exceeded what was deſigned to ſupport it, whereby the great debt was little diminiſhed, yielded little delight to thoſe, who were moſt truſted to manage and provide for them, and who had a melancholick and dreadful apprehenſion of conſequences; yet whilſt the nation continued in peace, and without any danger from any foreign enemy, that the proſpect was ſo pleaſant, eſpecially to thoſe who ſtood at a diſtance, that they ſaw nothing worthy of any man's fear; and there was reaſonable hope that the expences might every year be reduced within reaſonable hopes; but all that hope vaniſhed, when there appeared an immoderate deſire to engage the nation in a war. Upon the king's firſt arrival in England, he manifeſted a very great deſire to improve the general traffick and trade of the kingdom, and upon all occaſions conferred with the moſt active merchants upon it, and offered all that he could contribute to the advancement thereof. He erected a council of trade, which produced little other effect, than the opportunity of men's ſpeaking together, which poſſibly diſpoſed them to think more, and to conſult more effectually in private, than they could in ſuch a crowd of commiſſioners. Some merchants

chants and ſeamen made a propoſition, by Mr. William Coventry and ſome few others, to the duke of York, for the erection of a company, in which they deſired his royal highneſs to preſide, and from thence it was called the Royal Company, to which his majeſty ſhould grant the ſole trade of Guiney, which in a ſhort time they preſumed would bring great advantage to the publick and much profit to the adventurers, who ſhould begin upon a joint ſtock, to be managed by a council of ſuch as ſhould be choſen out of the adventurers. This privilege had before the troubles been granted by the late king to Sir Nicholas Criſpe and others named by him, who had at their own charge ſent ſhips thither, and Sir Nicholas had at his own charge bought a nook of ground that lay into the ſea of the true owners thereof, (all that coaſt being inhabited by heathens) and built thereon a good fort and warehouſes, under which the ſhips lay; and he had advanced this trade ſo far before the troubles, that he found it might be carried on with very great benefit. After the rebellion began, Sir Nicholas betook himſelf to ſerve the king: ſome merchants continued the trade, and either by his conſent, or Cromwell's power, had the poſſeſſion of that fort called Cormantine, which was ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, when his majeſty returned; though the trade was ſmall, in reſpect the Dutch had fixed a ſtronger quarter at no great diſtance from it, and ſent much more ſhips and commodities thither, and returned once every year to their own country with much wealth. The chief end of this trade was, beſides the putting off great quantities of our own manufactures, according as the trade ſhould advance, to return with gold, which that coaſt produced in good quantity; and with ſlaves, blacks, which were readily ſold to any plantation at great prices. The model was ſo well

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prepared, and the whole method for governing the trade ſo rationally propoſed, that the duke was much pleaſed with it, and quickly procured a charter to be granted from the king to this company, with ample privileges, and his majeſty himſelf to become an adventurer; and which was more, to aſſiſt them for the firſt eſtabliſhment of their trade with the uſe of ſome of his own ſhips. The duke was the governor of the company, with power to make a deputy: all the other officers and council were choſen by the company, which conſiſted of perſons of honour and quality, every one of which brought in five hundred pounds for the firſt joint ſtock, with which they ſet out the firſt ſhips; upon the return whereof they received ſo much encouragement and benefit, that they compounded with Sir Nicholas Criſpe for his propriety in the fort and caſtle, and poſſeſſed themſelves of another place upon the coaſt, and ſent many ſhips thither, which made very good returns, by putting off their blacks at the Barbadoes, and other the king's plantations, at their own prices; and brought home ſuch ſtore of gold, that adminiſtred the firſt occaſion for the coinage of thoſe pieces, which from thence had the denomination of guineas, and what was afterwards made of the ſame ſpecies, were coined of the gold, that was brought from that coaſt by the Royal Company. In a word, if that company be not broken or diſordered by the jealouſy that the gentlemen adventurers have of the merchants, and their opinion that they underſtood the myſteries of trade as well as the other, by which they refuſe to concur in the neceſſary expedients propoſed by the other, and interpoſe unſkillful overtures of their own with pertinacy, it will be found a model, equally to advance the trade of England, with that of any other company, even that of the Eaſt-Indies.

From

From the firſt entrance into this trade, which the duke was exceedingly diſpoſed to advance, and was conſtantly preſent himſelf at all councils, which were held once a week in his own lodgings at Whitehall, it was eaſily diſcovered that the Dutch had a better trade there than the Engliſh, which they were then willing to believe that they had no right to; for that the trade was firſt found out and ſettled there by the Engliſh, which was a ſufficient foundation to ſettle it upon this nation, and to exclude all others, at leaſt, by the ſame law that the Spaniards enjoyed the Weſt-Indies, and the Dutch, what they, or the Portugueze poſſeſſed in the Eaſt: but this they quickly found would not eſtabliſh ſuch a title as would bear a diſpute; the having ſent a ſhip or two thither and built a little fort, could not be allowed ſuch a poſſeſſion, as would exclude all other nations; and the truth was, the Dutch were there ſome time before us, and the Dane before either; and the Dutch, which was the true grievance, had planted themſelves more advantageouſly upon the bank of a river, than we had done, and by the erection of more forts were more ſtrongly ſeated, and drove a much greater trade, which they did not believe they would be perſwaded to quit. This drew the diſcourſe from the right to the eaſineſs by the aſſiſtance of two or three of the king's ſhips to take away all that the Dutch poſſeſſed in and about Guiney, there having never been a ſhip of war ſeen in thoſe parts; ſo that the work might be preſently done, and ſuch an alliance made with the natives, who did not love the Dutch, that the Engliſh may be unqueſtionably poſſeſſed of the whole trade of that country, which would be of ineſtimable profit to the kingdom. The merchants took much delight to enlarge themſelves upon this argument, and ſhortly to diſcourſe of the infinite benefit

that would accrue from a barefaced war againſt the Dutch, how eaſily they might be ſubdued, and the trade carried by the Engliſh; that Cromwell had always beaten them, and thereby gotten the greateſt glory he had, and brought them upon their knees, and could totally have ſubdued them, if he had not thought more for his intereſt to have ſuch a ſecond, whereby he might the better ſupport his uſurpation againſt the king; and therefore, after they had conſented to all the infamous conditions of the total abandoning his majeſty, and, as far as in them lay, to the extirpation of all the royal family, and to a perpetual excluſion of the prince of Orange, he made a firm peace with them, which they had not yet performed, by their retaining ſtill the iſland of Poleroon, which they had ſo long ſince barbarouſly taken from the Engliſh, and which they had expreſſly promiſed and undertaken to deliver in the laſt treaty, after Cromwell had compelled them to pay a great ſum of money for the damages which the Engliſh had ſuſtained at Amboyna, when all the demands and threats from king James could never procure any ſatisfaction for that foul action. Theſe diſcourſes often reiterated in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, made a very deep impreſſion in the duke, who having been ever from his childhood in the command in armies, and in his nature inclined to the moſt difficult and dangerous enterpriſes, was already weary of having ſo little to do, and too impatiently longed for any war, in which he knew he could not but have the chief command; but theſe kind of debates, nor the place in which they were made, could contribute little to an affair of ſo huge an importance, other than by inciting the duke, which they did too much to conſider and affect it, and to diſpoſe others, who were near him, to inculcate the ſame thoughts into him,

him, as an argument in which his honour would be much exalted in the eye of all the world, and to theſe good offices they were enough diſpoſed by the reſtleſſneſs and unquietneſs of their own natures, and by many other motives for accompliſhing their own deſigns, and getting more power into their own hands: but there was lately, very lately, a peace fully concluded with the States-General, upon the ſame terms, articles, and conditions, which they had formerly yielded to Cromwell, being very much more advantageous, than they had ever granted in any treaty to the crown; and at the time of the concluſion of the peace, they delivered their orders from the States-General, and their Eaſt-India company for the delivery of the iſland of Poleroon to the Engliſh, and which Cromwell himſelf had extorted from them with the greateſt difficulty; ſo that there was now no colour of juſtice to make a war upon them: beſides that there were at preſent great jealouſies from Spain upon the marriage with Portugal; nor did France, which had broken promiſe in making a treaty with Holland, make any haſte to renew the treaty with England, and therefore it could not but ſeem ſtrange to all men, that we had only made a treaty of peace with Holland, and that ſo newly, and upon ſo long conſideration, and had none with either of the crowns, we ſhould ſo much deſire to enter into a war with them.

However, the duke's heart was ſet upon it, and he loved to ſpeak of it, and the benefits which would attend it: he ſpake of it to the king, whom he found no ways inclined to it, and therefore he knew it was unfit to propoſe it in council; yet he ſpake often of it to ſuch of the lords of whom he had the beſt opinion, and found many of them to concur with him in the opinion of the advantages which might ariſe

from thence, and ſometimes he thought he left the king diſpoſed to it by an argument which he found prevailed with many; that the differences and jealouſies in point of trade, which did every day fall out, and would every day encreaſe between the Engliſh and the Dutch, who had in the late diſtractions gotten great advantages, would unavoidably produce a war between them; and then that the queſtion only was, whether it were not better for us to begin it now, when they do not expect it, and we are better prepared for it, than probably we ſhall be then, or to ſtay two or three years, in which the ſame jealouſy would provoke them to be well provided, when probably we might not be ready; that we had the beſt ſea officers in the world, many of whom had often beaten the Dutch, and knew how to do it again; a multitude of excellent mariners and common ſeamen, all which if they found that nothing would be done at home, would diſperſe themſelves in merchant voyages to the Indies and the ſtreights, and probably ſo many good men would never be found together again; and with ſuch arguments he many times thought that he left the king much moved; but when he ſpake to him again (though he knew that he had no kindneſs for the Dutch) his majeſty was changed and very averſe to a war, which he imputed to the chancellor, who had not diſſembled, as often as his highneſs ſpake to him, to be paſſionately and obſtinately againſt it, and he did take all the opportunities he could find, to confirm the king in his averſion to it, who was in his heart averſe from it, by preſenting to him the ſtate of his own affairs, the great debt, that yet lay upon him, which with peace and good huſbandry might be in ſome time paid; but a war would involve him in ſo much greater, that no man could ſee the end of it; that he would be able to preſerve himſelf

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againſt the factions and diſtempers in his own kingdom, and probably ſuppreſs them, if he were without a foreign enemy; but if he ſhould be engaged in a war abroad, his domeſtick diviſions, eſpecially thoſe in religion, would give him more trouble than he could well ſtruggle withal: that it was an erroneous aſſumption, that the Dutch would be better provided for a war two or three years hence, and his majeſty's worſe, for which there was no reaſon: that within that time it would be his own fault, if the diſtempers in his three kingdoms were not compoſed, which would make him much fitter for a war; whereas now neither of them could be ſaid to be in peace, that of Ireland being totally unſettled, and that of Scotland not yet well pleaſed, and England far from it: that in that time it was very probable, that the two crowns would be again engaged in a war, ſince it was generally believed, and with great reaſon, that France only expected the death of the king of Spain, who was very infirm, and meant then to fall into Flanders, having at the ſame time, with great expence, provided great magazines of corn and hay upon the borders, which could be for no other end: that whilſt he continued in peace, his friendſhip would be valuable to all the princes of Europe, and the two crowns would ſtrive who ſhould gain him; but if he engaged in a war, and in ſuch a war as Holland, which would interrupt and diſturb all the trade of the kingdom, upon which the greateſt part of his revenue did riſe, all other princes would look on, and not much eſteem any offices he could perform to them: and laſtly, that a little time might poſſibly adminiſter a juſt occaſion of a war, which at preſent there was not. Theſe and better arguments, which the king's own underſtanding ſuggeſted to him, made him fully reſolve againſt the war, and to endeavour to

change his brother from affecting it, which wrought not at all upon him; but finding that many things fell from the king in the argument, which had been alledged to himself by the chancellor, he concluded the miſchief came from him, and was diſpleaſed accordingly, and complained to his wife, that her father ſhould oppoſe him in an affair, upon which he knew his heart was ſo much ſet, and of which every body took ſo much notice, which troubled her very much, and ſhe very earneſtly deſired her father, that he would no more oppoſe the duke in that matter. He anſwered her, that ſhe did not enough underſtand the conſequence of that affair; but that he would take notice to the duke of what ſhe had ſaid, and give him the beſt anſwer he could; and he accordingly waited upon the duke, who very frankly confeſſed to him, that he took it very unkindly, that he ſhould ſo poſitively endeavour to croſs a deſign ſo honourable in itſelf, ſo much deſired by the city of London, and he was confident, would be very grateful to the parliament, and that they would ſupply the king with money enough to carry it on, which would anſwer the chief objection; that he was engaged to purſue it, and he could not but be ſorry and diſpleaſed that every body ſhould ſee how little credit he had with him. The chancellor told him, that he had no apprehenſion that any ſober man in England, or his highneſs himſelf ſhould believe, that he could fail in his duty to him, or that he would omit any opportunity to make it manifeſt, which he could never do without being a fool or a madman. On the other hand, he could never give an advice, or conſent to it, whoever gave it, which, in his judgment and conſcience, would be very miſchievous to the crown and to the kingdom, though his royal highneſs or the king himſelf were inclined to it.

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He did aſſure him, that he found the king very averſe from any thought of this war, before he ever diſcovered his own opinion of it; but denied not that he had taken all opportunities to confirm him in that judgment by arguments that he thought could not be anſwered, and that the conſequence of that war would be very pernicious: that he did preſume, that many good men, with whom he had conferred, did ſeem to concur with his highneſs out of duty to him, and as they ſaw it would be grateful to him, or upon a ſudden and without making thoſe reflections, which would afterwards occur to them, and make them change their minds: that a few merchants, nor all the merchants in London, were the city of London, which had had war enough, and could only become rich by peace: that he did not think the parliament would be forward to encourage that war, nor ſhould the king be deſirous that they ſhould interpoſe their advice in it, ſince it was a ſubject entirely in the king's determination; but if they ſhould appear never ſo forward in it, he was old enough to remember when a parliament did adviſe and upon the matter compel his grandfather, king James, to enter into a war with Spain, upon promiſe of ample ſupplies, and yet, when he was engaged in it, they gave him no more ſupply; ſo that at laſt the crown was compelled to accept of a peace not very honourable. Beſides the arguments he had uſed to the king, he beſought his highneſs to reflect on ſome others more immediately relating to himſelf; upon the want of able men to conduct the councils upon which ſuch a war muſt be carried on; how few accidents might expoſe the crown to thoſe diſtreſſes, that it might with more difficulty be buoyed up, than it had lately been, with many other arguments, which he thought made ſome impreſſion upon the duke, and for ſome months,

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there was no more mention or diſcourſe in the court of the war, though they, who firſt laid the deſign, ſtill cultivated it, and made little of bringing it at laſt to paſs.

At or about this time there was a tranſaction of great importance, which at the ſame time was not popular, nor indeed underſtood, and afterwards was objected againſt the chancellor in his misfortunes, as a principal argument of his infidelity and corruption, which was the Sale of Dunkirk, the whole proceeding whereof ſhall be plainly and exactly related, from the beginning to the end thereof. The charge and expence the crown was at, the pay of the land forces and garriſons, the great fleets ſet out to ſea for the reduction of the Turkiſh pyrates of Algiers and Tunis, and for guarding the narrow ſeas and ſecurity of the merchants, the conſtant yearly charge of the garriſon of Dunkirk, of that at Tangier, and the vaſt expence of building a mole there, for which there was an eſtabliſhment, together with the garriſons at Bombay, and in Jamaica, none of which had been known to the crown in former times, and the lord treaſurer's frequent repreſentation of all this to the king as ſo prodigious an expence as could never be ſupported, had put his majeſty to frequent conſultations how he might leſſen and ſave any part of it, but no expedient could be reſolved upon. The lord treaſurer, who was moſt troubled, when money was wanted, had many ſecret conferences with the general, and with the beſt ſeamen, of the benefit that accrued to the crown by keeping of Dunkirk, the conſtant charge and expence whereof amounted to above one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds yearly, and he found by them that it was a place of little importance. It is true, that he had conferred of it with the chancellor, (with whom he held a faſt friendſhip) but found him ſo averſe from it,

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that he reſolved to ſpeak with him no more, till the king had taken ſome reſolution; and to that purpoſe he perſwaded the general to go with him to the king and to the duke of York, telling them both that the chancellor muſt know nothing of it; and after ſeveral debates the king thought it ſo counſelable a thing, that he reſolved to have it debated before that committee, which he truſted in his moſt ſecret affairs; and the chancellor being then lame of the gout, he commanded that all thoſe lords ſhould attend him at his houſe. Beſides his majeſty himſelf and the duke of York, there appeared the lord treaſurer, the general, the earl of Sandwich, the vice-chamberlain, Sir George Carteret, who had been a great commander at ſea, and the two ſecretaries of ſtate. When the king entered the room with the lord treaſurer, he deſired his majeſty, ſmiling, that he would take the chancellor's ſtaff from him, otherwiſe he would break his head. When they were all ſate, the king told him, they were all come to debate an affair, that he knew he was againſt, which was the parting with Dunkirk; but he did believe, when he had heard all that was ſaid for it and againſt it, he would change his mind, as he himſelf had done; and ſo the debate was entered into in this method, after enough was ſaid of the ſtreights the crown was in, and what the yearly expences was: Firſt, that the profit which did or could accrue to the kingdom by the keeping of Dunkirk, was inconſiderable, whether in war or peace; that by ſea it was very little uſeful, it being no harbour, nor having place for the king's ſhips to ride in with ſafety, and that if it were in the hands of an enemy, it could do as little prejudice, becauſe three or four ſhips might block it up, and keep it from infeſting its neigbours, and that though heretofore it had been a place of licence at

ſea, and had much obſtructed trade by their men of war; yet that proceeded only from the unſkilfulneſs of that time, in applying proper remedies to it, which was manifeſt by Cromwell's blocking them up, and reſtraining them, when he made war upon them; inſomuch, as all the men of war left that place, and betook themſelves to other harbours: that it was ſo weak to the land (notwithſtanding the great charge his majeſty had been at in the fortifications, which were not yet finiſhed) by the ſituation and the ſoil, that it required as many men within to defend it, as the army ſhould conſiſt of that beſieged it, otherwiſe that it could never hold out and endure a ſiege of two months, as it appeared clearly by it's having been taken and retaken ſo many times within the late years, in all which times it never held out ſo long, though there was always an army at no great diſtance to relieve it. Secondly, that the charge of keeping and maintaining it without any accidents from the attempt of an enemy, did amount to above one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds by the year, which was a ſum the revenue of the crown could not ſupply, without leaving many other particulars of much more importance unprovided for: and this was not lightly or curſorily urged; but the ſtate of the revenue, and the conſtant and indiſpenſible iſſues were at the ſame time preſented, and carefully examined. Thirdly, it could not reaſonably be believed, but that if Dunkirk was kept, his majeſty would be ſhortly involved in a war with one of the two crowns. The Spaniſh embaſſador had already demanded the reſtitution of it in point of juſtice, it having been taken from his maſter by the late uſurper at a time, when there was not only a peace between his majeſty and the king of Spain; but when his majeſty reſided and was entertained by the catholick king

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in Flanders: and at this time both France and Spain inhibited their ſubjects from paying thoſe ſmall contributions to the garriſon at Dunkirk, and endeavoured to reſtrain the governor or himſelf from enjoying ſome privileges, which had been always enjoyed by him, from the time that it had been put into Cromwell's hands, and it was upon this and many other reaſons then conceived, that as it would be very hard for the king to preſerve a neutrality towards both crowns, even during the time of the war between them, (which temper was thought very neceſſary for his majeſty's affairs) ſo it would be much more difficult long to avoid a war with one of them upon the keeping Dunkirk, if the peace, that was newly made, ſhould remain firm and unſhaken.

Upon theſe reaſons urged and agreed upon by thoſe, who could not but be thought very competent judges in reſpect of their ſeveral profeſſions and great experience, the king reſolved to eaſe himſelf of the inſupportable burthen of maintaining Dunkirk, and to part with it in ſuch a manner, as might be moſt for his advantage and benefit: there remained then no other queſtion than into what hand to put it, and the meaſure of that was only who ſhould give moſt money for it, there being no inclination to prefer one before another. It was enough underſtood, that both crowns would be very glad to have it, and would probably both make large offers for it; but it was then as evident, that, whatſoever France ſhould contract for, the king would be ſure to receive, and the buſineſs would be ſoon diſpatched: whereas on the other it was as notorious and evident to his majeſty and to all who had any knowledge of the court of Spain, and of the ſcarcity of money there and in Flanders; that how large offers ſoever the Spaniards might make, they

could not be able to pay in any time any conſiderable ſum of money, and that there would be ſo much time ſpent in conſult between Madrid and Bruſſels, before it could be diſpatched: that the keeping it ſo long in his majeſty's hands would in the expence diſappoint him of a good part of the end in parting with it. Beſides, that it ſeemed at that time probable, that the Spaniard would ſhortly declare himſelf an enemy; for beſides that he demanded Dunkirk as of right, ſo he likewiſe required the reſtitution of Tangier and Jamaica upon the ſame reaſon, and declared, that without it there could be no laſting peace between England and Spain, and refuſed ſo much as to enter upon a treaty of alliance with the king, before he ſhould promiſe to make ſuch a reſtitution. There wanted not in this conference the conſideration of the ſtates of the United Provinces, as perſons like enough to deſire the poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, from whence they had formerly received ſo much damage, and were like enough to receive more, whenever they ſhould be engaged in a war; and if in truth they ſhould have any ſuch deſire, more money might reaſonably be required, and probably be obtained from them, than could be expected from either of the kings; but upon the diſcuſſion of that point, it did appear to every man's reaſon very manifeſt, that though they had rather that Dunkirk ſhould be put into the hands of the Spaniard, than delivered to France, or than it ſhould be detained by the Engliſh, yet they durſt not receive it into their own poſſeſſion, which neither of the two crowns would have approved of, and ſo it would have expoſed them to the diſpleaſure, if not to the hoſtility of both the kings. Upon this full deliberation his majeſty inclined rather to give it up to France, than to Spain, but deferred any poſitive reſolution, till he had imparted the whole matter to

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the council-board, where the debate was again resumed, principally whether it were more counselable to keep it at so vast a charge, or to part with it for a good sum of money: and in that debate the mention of what had been heretofore done in the house of commons upon that subject was not omitted, nor the bill that they had sent up to the house of peers, for annexing it inseparably to the crown; but that was not thought of moment, as it had been suddenly entertained in the house of commons upon the Spanish embassador's first proposition for the restitution, so it was looked upon in the house of peers as unfit in itself and so laid aside, after once being read, which had been in the first convention soon after the king's return, and so expired as soon as it was born. After a long debate of the whole matter at the council-board, where all was said concerning the usefulness and weakness of the place, by those who had said it at the committee, there was but one lord of the council, who offered his advice to the king against parting with it, and the ground of that lord's dissenting, who was the earl of St. Albans, was enough understood to have nothing of publick in it, but to draw the negociation for it into his own hands. In conclusion, his majesty resolved to put it into the hands of France, if that king would comply with his majesty's expectation in the payment of so much money, as he would require for it, and a way was found that the king might privately be advertised of that his majesty's resolution, if he should have any desire to deal for it.

The advertisement was very welcome to the French king, who was then resolved to visit Flanders, as soon as he should know of the death of the king of Spain, which was expected every day; nor had he deferred it till then upon the late affront his embassador had received at London from the

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Spaniſh embaſſador, who by a continued and laboured ſtratagem had got the precedence for his coach before the other, which the king of France received with that indignation, that he ſent preſently to demand juſtice at Madrid, commanded his embaſſador to retire from thence, and would not ſuffer the Spaniſh embaſſador to remain in Paris, till he ſhould have ſatisfaction, and was reſolved to have begun a war upon it, if the king of Spain had not acknowledged the fault of his embaſſador, and under his hand declared the precedence to belong to France; which declaration was ſent to the courts of all princes, and ſo for the preſent that ſpark of fire was extinguiſhed, or rather raked up. The king ſent Monſieur d'Eſtrade privately to London to treat about Dunkirk, without any character, but pretending to make it his way to Holland, whither he was deſigned embaſſador. After he had waited upon the king, his majeſty appointed four or five of the lords of his council, whereof the chancellor and treaſurer, and general were three, to treat with Monſieur d'Eſtrade for the ſale of Dunkirk, when the firſt conference was ſpent in endeavouring to perſwade him to make the firſt offer for the price, which he could not be drawn to; ſo that the king's commiſſioners were obliged to make their demand, and they aſked the ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, to be paid upon the delivery of Dunkirk and Mardyke into the poſſeſſion of the king of France, which ſum appeared to him to be ſo ſtupendious, that he ſeemed to think the treaty at an end, and reſolved to make no offer at all on the part of his maſter, and ſo the conference brake up. At the next meeting he offered three millions of livres, which according to the common account amounted to three hundred thouſand piſtols, which the king's commiſſioners as much undervalued; ſo that any further

ther conference was diſcontinued, till he had ſent an expreſs or two into France, and till their return; for, as the expectation of a great ſum of ready money was the king's motive to part with it, beſides the ſaving the monthly charge, ſo they concluded that his neceſſities would oblige him to part with it at a moderate price: and after the return of the expreſſes the king's commiſſioners inſiſting ſtill upon what d'Eſtrade thought too much, and he offering what they thought too little, the treaty ſeemed to be at an end, and he prepared for his return. In concluſion, his majeſty being fully as deſirous to part with it, as the king of France could be to have it, it was agreed and concluded, that upon the payment of five hundred thouſand piſtols in ſpecie at Calais, to ſuch perſons as the king ſhould appoint to receive it, his majeſty's garriſon at Dunkirk and Mardyke ſhould be withdrawn, and thoſe places put into the hands of the king of France, all which was executed accordingly; and without doubt was a greater ſum of money, than was ever paid at one payment by any prince in chriſtendom upon what occaſion ſoever; and every body ſeemed very glad to ſee ſo vaſt a ſum of money delivered into the tower of London, as it was altogether, the king at the ſame time declaring, that no part of it ſhould be applied to any ordinary occaſion; but to be preſerved for ſome preſſing accident, as an inſurrection, or the like, which was reaſonably enough apprehended: nor was the leaſt murmur at this bargain in all the ſeſſions of the parliament which ſate after, until it fell out to ſome mens purpoſes to reproach the chancellor; and then they charged him with adviſing the ſale of Dunkirk, and that the very artillery, ammunition and ſtores amounted to a greater value than the king received for the whole; when upon an eſtimate, that had been of all thoſe, they

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were not eſteemed to be more worth than twenty thouſand pounds ſterling; and the conſideration of thoſe, when the king's commiſſioners inſiſted upon their being all ſhipped for England, and the neceſſity of keeping them upon the place where they were, had prevailed with Monſieur d'Eſtrade to conſent to that ſum of five hundred thouſand piſtols; but whether the bargain was ill or well made, there could be no fault imputed to the chancellor, who had no more to do in the tranſaction, than is before ſet down, and the whole matter having been ſo long deliberated, and ſo fully debated; nor did he ever before, or in, or after the tranſaction, receive the value of half a crown for reward or preſent, or any other conſideration relating to that affair, and the treatment he received after his coming into France, was evidence enough that that king never thought himſelf beholding to him.

A little before this time the queen mother returned again for England, having diſburſed a great ſum of money in making a noble addition to her palace of Somerſet-houſe. With the queen there came over a youth of above ten or a dozen years of age, who was called by the name of Mr. Crofts, becauſe the lord Crofts had been truſted to take care of his breeding; but he was generally thought to be the king's ſon, begotten upon a private Welch-woman of no good fame, but handſome, who had tranſported herſelf to the Hague, when the king was firſt there, with a deſign to obtain that honour, which a groom of the bedchamber willingly preferred her to, and there it was this boy was born. The mother lived afterwards for ſome years in France, in the king's ſight, and at laſt loſt his majeſty's favour: yet the king deſired to have the ſon delivered to him, that he might take care of his education, which ſhe would

would not conſent to. At laſt, the lord Crofts got him into his charge, and the mother dying at Paris, he had the ſole tuition of him, and took care for the breeding him ſuitable to the quality of a very good gentleman; and the queen after ſome years came to know of it, and frequently had him brought to her, and uſed him with much grace, and upon the king's deſire brought him with her from Paris into England, when he was about twelve years of age, very handſome, and performed thoſe exerciſes gracefully, which youths of that age uſed to learn in France. The king received him with extraordinary fondneſs, and was willing that every body ſhould believe him to be his ſon, though he did not yet make any declaration that he looked upon him as ſuch, otherwiſe than by his kindneſs and familiarity towards him; he aſſigned a liberal maintenance for him, but took not that care for a ſtrict breeding of him, as his age required. The general, during the time of his command in Scotland, had acquaintance with a lady of much honour there, the counteſs of Wemys, who had been before the wife of the earl of Buccleugh, and by him had one only daughter, who inherited his very great eſtate and title, and was called the counteſs of Buccleugh, a child of eight or ten years of age. All men believed that the general's purpoſe was to get this lady for his own ſon, ſuitable enough; but the time being now changed, and the lord Lauderdale being a good courtier, thought his country-woman might be much better married, if ſhe were given to the king for this youth, towards whom he expreſſed ſo much fondneſs, (thoſe kind of extractions carrying little diſadvantage with them in Scotland) and the general, whatever thoughts he had before, would not be ſo ill a courtier, as not to advance ſuch a propoſition. The lady was already

in poſſeſſion of the greateſt fortune in Scotland, which would have a fair addition upon the death of her mother. The king liked the motion well, and ſo the mother was ſent to, to bring up her daughter to London, they being then both in Scotland; and when they came the king truſted the earl of Lauderdale principally to treat that affair with the mother, who would rather have been referred to any other body, and having, indeed, ſome juſt exceptions. They were both yet under the years of conſent; but that time drawing on, ſuch a contract was drawn up, as had been firſt propoſed to the king, which was, that the whole eſtate, for want of iſſue by the young lady, or by her death, ſhould be devolved upon the young man, who was to marry her, and his heirs for ever, and that this ſhould be ſettled by act of parliament in Scotland. Matters being drawn to this length, and writings being to be prepared, it was now neceſſary that this young gentleman muſt have a name, and the Scotch advocate had prepared a draught, in which he was ſtiled the king's natural ſon, and the king was every day preſſed by the great lady and thoſe young men, who knew the cuſtoms of France, to create him a nobleman of England, and was indeed very willing to be adviſed to that purpoſe. Till this time, this whole matter was treated in ſecret amongſt the Scots; but now the king thought fit to conſult it with others, and telling the chancellor of all that had paſſed, ſhewed him the draught prepared by the Scots advocates, and aſked him what he thought of it, and likewiſe implied, that he thought fit to give him ſome title of honour. After he had read it over, he told his majeſty, that he need not give him any other title of honour, than he would enjoy by his marriage, by which he would by the law of Scotland, be called earl of Buccleugh, which would

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be title enough; and he desired his majesty to pardon him, if he found fault with and disliked the title they had given him, who had prepared that draught, wherein they had presumed to stile him the king's natural son, which was never, at least in many ages, used in England, and would have an ill sound in England with all his people, who thought that those unlawful acts ought to be concealed, and not published and justified: that France indeed had with inconvenience enough to the crown raised some families of those births; but it was always from women of great quality, and who had never been tainted with any other familiarity; and that there was another circumstance required in Spain, which his majesty should do well to observe in this case, if he had taken a resolution in the main, which was, that the king took care for the good education of that child, whom he believed to be his; but never publickly owned or declared him to be such, till he had given some notable evidence of his inheriting or having acquired such virtues and qualities as made him in the eyes of all men worthy of such a descent: that this gentleman was yet young, and not yet to be judged of; and therefore if he were for the present married to this young lady, and assumed her title, as he must do, his majesty might defer for some years making any such declaration, which he might do, when he would, and which at present would be as unpopular an action in the hearts of his subjects as he could commit. Though the king did not seem to concur in all that was said, he did not appear at all offended, and only asked him whether he had not conferred with the queen, his mother, upon that subject; when he assured him he had not, nor with any other person; and though he had heard some general discourse of his majesty's purpose to make that mar-

riage, he had never heard either of the other particulars mentioned. The king ſaid he had reaſon to aſk the queſtion, becauſe many of thoſe things, which he had ſaid, had been ſpoken to him by the queen, his mother, who was entirely of his opinion, which ſhe uſed not to be, and concluded that he would confer with them together, ſeeming for the preſent to be more moved and doubtful in the matter of the declaration than in the other of the creation, and ſaid, there was no reaſon, ſince ſhe brought all the eſtate, that ſhe ſhould receive no addition by her huſband. The queen afterwards took an occaſion to ſpeak at large to the chancellor of it with much warmth, and manifeſtation that ſhe did not like it; but the king ſpake with neither of them afterwards upon it, but ſigned the declaration, and created him to be duke of Monmouth, very few perſons diſſwading it, and the lady employing all her credit to bring it to paſs; and the earl of Briſtol (who in thoſe difficult caſes was uſually conſulted) preſſed it, as the only way to make the king's friendſhip valuable.

Since the earl of Briſtol is mentioned upon this occaſion, it will not be unſeaſonable to give him the next part in this relation. Though he had left no way unattempted to render himſelf gracious to the king, by ſaying and doing all that might be acceptable unto him, and contriving ſuch meetings and jollities, as he was pleaſed with, and though his majeſty had been ſeveral ways very bountiful to him, and had particularly given him at one time ten thouſand pounds in money, with which he had purchaſed Wimbleton of the queen, and had given him Aſhdown foreſt, and other lands in Suſſex; yet he found he had not that degree of favour and intereſt in the king's affections, as he deſired, or deſired that other people ſhould think he had. The change of his re-

religion kept him from being admitted to the council, or to any employment of moment; and whereas he made no doubt of drawing the whole dependance of the Roman Catholicks upon himſelf, and to have the diſpoſal of that intereſt, and to that purpoſe had the Jeſuits firm to him, he found that he had no kind of credit with them, nor was admitted by them to their moſt ſecret conſultations, and that the fathers of the ſociety had more enemies than friends amongſt the catholicks. His eſtate had been ſold and ſettled by his own conſent upon the marriage of his eldeſt ſon twice to great fortunes; ſo that, when he returned from beyond the ſeas, he could not return to his eſtate as others did, and had little more to ſubſiſt upon than the king's bounty, and that was not poured out upon him in the meaſure he wiſhed, and few perſons taſted more of it. He was in his nature very covetous, and ready to embrace all ways, that were offered, to get money, whether honourable or no; for he had a great power over himſelf and could not bear want, which he could hardly avoid, for he was nothing provident in his expences, when he had any temptation from his ambition or vanity, beſides his appetite to play and gaming, in which he had no ſkill, and by which he had all his life ſpent whatever he could get, was not at all abated, he ſpent as much money at Wimbleton in building and gardening as the land was worth. By all theſe means he found himſelf in ſtreights, which he could neither endure nor get from, and tranſported him to that degree, that he reſolved to treat the king in another manner, than he had ever yet preſumed to do, and having aſked ſomewhat of him, that his majeſty did not think fit to grant, he told him, he knew well the cauſe of his withdrawing his favour from him; that it proceeded only from the chancellor, who governed him and managed

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all his affairs, whilſt himſelf ſpent his time only in pleaſures and debauchery, and in this paſſion upbraided him with many exceſſes, to which no man had contributed more than he had done. He ſaid many truths, which ought to have been more modeſtly and decently ſpoken, and all this in the preſence of the lord Aubigny, who was as much ſurpriſed as the king, and concluded, that if he did not within ſuch a time (the time allowed did not exceed four and twenty hours) he would do ſomewhat that would awaken him out of his ſlumber, and make him look better to his own buſineſs, and added many threats againſt the chancellor. The king ſtood all this time in ſuch confuſion, that though he gave him more ſharp words, than were natural to him, he had not that preſentneſs of mind, as he afterwards accuſed himſelf, as he ought to have had, and ſaid, he ought preſently to have called for the guard, it being in his own cloſet, and ſent him to the tower. The court and the town was full of the diſcourſe, that the earl of Briſtol would accuſe the chancellor of high-treaſon, who knew nothing of what had paſſed with the king; and it ſeems, when the time was paſt, that he preſcribed to the king to give him ſatisfaction, he came one morning to the houſe of peers with a paper in his hand, and told the lords, that he could not but obſerve, that after ſo glorious a return, with which God had bleſſed the king and the nation, that all the world had expected that the proſperity of the kingdom would have far exceeded the miſery and adverſity, that it had for many years endured; and after the parliament had contributed more towards it, than ever parliament had done, notwithſtanding all which it was evident to all men, and lamented by thoſe who wiſhed well to his majeſty, that his affairs grew every day worſe and worſe, the king himſelf loſt much of

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his honour, and the affection he had in the hearts of the people: that for his part he looked upon it with as much ſadneſs as any man, and had made enquiry as well as he could, from whence this great misfortune, which every body was ſenſible of, could proceed, and that he was ſatisfied in his own conſcience, that it proceeded principally from the power and credit, and ſole credit of the chancellor, and therefore, he was reſolved for the good of his country to accuſe the lord high chancellor of high-treaſon, which he had done in the paper which he deſired might be read, all written with his own hand, to which he ſubſcribed his name. The paper contained many articles of high treaſon, and other miſdemeanors, amongſt which one was, that he had perſwaded the king to ſend a gentleman (a creature of his own) to Rome with letters to the pope, to give a cardinal's cap to the lord Aubigny, who was almoner to the queen: the reſt contained his aſſuming to himſelf the government of all publick affairs, which he had adminiſtred unſkilfully, corruptly and traiterouſly, which he was ready to prove.

The chancellor, without any trouble in his countenance, told the lords that he had had the honour heretofore to have ſo much the good opinion and friendſhip of that lord, that he durſt appeal to his own conſcience, that he did not himſelf believe one of thoſe articles to be true, and knew the contrary of moſt of them; and he was glad to find that he thought it ſo high a crime to ſend to Rome and to deſire a cardinal's cap for a catholick lord, who had been always bred from his cradle in that faith: but he did aſſure them, that that Gentleman was only ſent by the queen to the pope upon an affair, that ſhe thought herſelf obliged to comply with him, and in hope to do ſome good office to Portugal; and that the king had neither wrote to

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the pope, nor to any other perſon in Rome. He ſpake at large to moſt of the articles, to ſhew the impoſſibility of their being true, and that they reflected more upon the king's honour than upon his; and concluded, that he was ſorry, that lord had not been better adviſed; for he did believe, that, though all that was alledged in the articles ſhould be true, they would not all amount to high-treaſon, which he deſired the judges might be required to deliver their opinion, the which the lords ordered the judges to do. It was moved by one of the lords that the copy of the articles might be ſent to the king, becauſe he was mentioned ſo preſumptuouſly in it, which was likewiſe agreed; and the articles were delivered to the lord chamberlain to preſent to the king. The chancellor had promiſed that day to dine in Whitehall, but would not preſume to go thither till he had ſent to the king, not thinking it fit to go into his court, whilſt he lay under an accuſation of high-treaſon, without his leave. His majeſty ſent him word, that he ſhould dine where he had appointed, and, as ſoon as he had dined, that he ſhould attend him; then his majeſty told him and the lord treaſurer all that had paſſed between the earl of Briſtol and him in the preſence of the lord Aubigny, and in the relation of it expreſſed great indignation, and was angry with himſelf that he had not immediately ſent him to the tower, which, he ſaid, he would do, as ſoon as he could apprehend him. He uſed the chancellor with much grace, and told him, that the earl of Briſtol had not treated him ſo ill as he had done his majeſty, and that his articles were more to his diſhonour, and reflected more upon him, for which he would have juſtice. His majeſty commanded the lord chamberlain to return his thanks to the houſe, for the reſpect they had ſhewed to him, in ſending thoſe articles

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to him, and to let them know, that he looked upon them as a libel upon himſelf more than a charge upon the chancellor, who, upon his knowledge, was innocent in all the particulars charged upon him; which report the lord chamberlain made the next morning to the houſe, and at the ſame time the judges declared their opinion unanimouſly, that the whole charge contained nothing of treaſon, though it were all true: upon which the earl of Briſtol, eſpecially upon what the lord chamberlain had reported from the king, appeared in great confuſion, and lamented his condition, that he, for endeavouring to ſerve his country upon the impulſion of his conſcience, was diſcountenanced and threatened with the anger and diſpleaſure of his prince, whilſt his adverſary kept his place in the houſe, and had the judges ſo much at his devotion, that they would not certify againſt him. The chancellor moved the houſe, that a ſhort day might be given to the earl to bring in his evidence to prove the ſeveral matters of his charge, otherwiſe that he might have ſuch reparation, as was in their judgments proportionable to the indignity. The earl ſaid, he ſhould not fail to produce witneſſes to prove all he had alledged and more; but that he could not appoint a time, when he could be ready for a hearing, becauſe many of his moſt important witneſſes were beyond the ſeas, ſome at Paris, and others in other places; and that he muſt examine the duke of Ormond, who was lieutenant in Ireland, and the earl of Lauderdale, who was then in Scotland, and muſt deſire commiſſions to that purpoſe; but from that day he made no farther inſtance, and underſtanding that the king had given warrants to a ſerjeant at arms to apprehend him, he concealed himſelf in ſeveral places, for the ſpace of near two years, ſending ſometimes letters and petitions by his

wife to the king, who would not receive them; but in the end his majeſty was prevailed with by the lady and Sir Harry Bennet to ſee him in private, but would not admit him to come to the court, nor repeal his warrants for his apprehenſion; ſo that he appeared not publickly till the chancellor's misfortune, and then he came to the court and to the parliament in great triumph, and ſhewed a more impotent malice, than was expected from his generoſity and underſtanding.

We ſhall in the next place take a view of Scotland, whither we left Middleton ſent the king's commiſſioner, who performed his place with wonderful dexterity and conduct, and with more ſucceſs than ſome of his countrymen were pleaſed with. We have remembered before the debate upon his inſtructions, and the earneſt advice and caution given by Lauderdale againſt any haſty attempt to make alteration in the matters of the church, which was left to the diſcretion of the commiſſioner to proceed in ſuch a manner, and at ſuch a time as he found moſt convenient. As ſoon as he came thither he found himſelf received with as univerſal an exclamation, and the king's authority as chearfully ſubmitted to, as can be imagined, or could be wiſhed, and ſuch a conſent to every thing he propoſed, that he made no queſtion but any thing his majeſty required, would find an entire obedience. The earl of Glencairne, who was chancellor, and the earl of Rothes, and all the nobility of any intereſt or credit, not only faithful to the king, but faſt friends to Middleton, and magnified his conduct in all their letters. The earl of Crawford alone, who was treaſurer, which is an office that cannot be unattended by a great faction in that kingdom, retained ſtill his rigid affection for the preſbytery, when the miniſters themſelves grew much leſs

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rigid, and were even aſhamed of the many follies and madneſſes they had committed; but the earl of Crawford did all he could to raiſe their ſpirits, and to keep them firm to the kirk: in all other particulars he was full of devotion to the king, being entirely of the faction of Hamilton, and nearly allied to it; and when the king was in Scotland, had ſerved him ſignally, and had then been made by him high-treaſurer of that kingdom; and upon Cromwell's prevailing and conjunction with Argyle, was as odious as any man to them both, and had for many years been priſoner in England, till the time of the king's return. There was always a great friendſhip between him and Lauderdale, the former being a man of much the greater intereſt, and of unqueſtionable courage; the other excelling him in all the faculties which are neceſſary to buſineſs, and a maſter in diſſimulation. Middleton and the lords who went with him, and the general, upon whoſe advice the king depended as much in the buſineſs of Scotland, were all earneſt with his majeſty to remove the earl of Crawford from that great office, which would enable him to do miſchief; but the king's good-nature prevailed over him, though he knew him as well as they did, and thought it too hard-hearted a thing to remove a man, whom he found a priſoner for his ſervice, from an office he had formerly conferred upon him for his merit, and which he had not forfeited by any miſcarriage: and it may be it was ſome argument to him of his ſincerity, that when others, who, to his majeſty's own knowledge, were as rigid preſbyterians as he, were now very frank in renouncing and diſclaiming all obligations from it; and he of all the nobility was the only man, who ſtill adhered to it, when it was evident to him, that he ſhould upon the matter be undone by it. However, the king ſent him down with the reſt

into Scotland, being confident that he would do nothing to diſſerve, as in truth he never did; and that when the buſineſs of the church came to be agitated, if he did continue ſtill refractory, he would take the ſtaff from him, and reſolved to confer it upon Middleton, who, though all things were very fair between him and Lauderdale, to whom all his diſpatches muſt be addreſſed; yet he depended more upon thoſe of the Engliſh council, to whom the king had required the ſecretary to communicate all that he received from the commiſſioner, and all the diſpatches which the ſhould make to him; and by this means no orders were ſent from the king, which reſtrained him from proceeding in the matter of the church according to diſcretion, as he was appointed by his inſtructions. Though Lauderdale did not diſſemble, when letters came from Scotland of the good poſture the king's affairs were there, and that any thing might be brought to paſs that he deſired, to receive other letters to which he gave more credit, and was ſtill as ſolicitous, that nothing might be attempted with reference to the kirk.

As ſoon as the parliament was convened at Edinburgh, and the commiſſioner found the temper of them to be ſuch as he could wiſh, the marquis of Argyle (who had been ſent by ſea from the tower of London to Leith) was brought to his trial upon many articles of treaſon and murder, wherein all his confederacies with Cromwell were laid open, and much inſiſted upon to prove his being privy to the reſolution of taking the king's life and adviſing it, and though there was great reaſon to ſuſpect it, and moſt men believed it, the proofs were not clear enough to convince him; but then the evidence was ſo clear, and full of ſo many horrid murders committed by his order upon perſons in his diſpleaſure,

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and his immediate poſſeſſing himſelf of their eſtates, and other monſtrous and unheard of acts of oppreſſion: that the parliament condemned him to be hanged upon a gallows of unuſual height, and in or near the place, where he had cauſed the marquis of Montroſe to be formerly executed; all which was performed the ſame day, with the univerſal joy of the people, the unfortunate perſon himſelf ſhewing more reſolution and courage, than was expected from him, and expreſſing much affection and zeal for the covenant, for which he deſired all men ſhould believe that he was put to death. There was likewiſe one ſeditious preacher, Gilaſpy, who had been a notorious and malicious rebel againſt the laſt and the preſent king, underwent the ſame trial and judgment with the ſame faith in the covenant, and without ſhew of repentance; and it was much wondered at, that no more of that tribe, which had kindled the fire, that had almoſt burned two kingdoms, and never had endeavoured to have extinguiſhed it, were ever brought to juſtice, and that the lives of two men ſhould be thought a ſufficient ſacrifice for that kingdom for all the miſchief it had done. When this work was done, the parliament without heſitation repealed all thoſe acts prejudicial to the crown and the royal dignity, which had been made ſince the beginning of the rebellion, and upon which all the rebellions had been founded, and branded their beloved covenant with all the reproaches it deſerved, and this even with the conſent and approbation of the general aſſembly of the kirk, by all which the obſtructions were removed, and it was now in the power of the king to make biſhops as heretofore, and to ſettle the church in the ſame government to which it had formerly been ſubject; but the commiſſioner thought not this enough, and apprehended that the king might not be perſwaded, though

though there was no ſuch appearance, that the people were againſt it, and that it would be better to defer it; and therefore the parliament prepared a petition to the king, highly aggravating the wickedneſs of the former time in deſtroying epiſcopacy, without which they could not have brought their wicked devices to paſs, and therefore they were humble ſuitors to his majeſty that he would make choice of ſuch grave divines, as he thought fit to be conſecrated biſhops for all the vacant ſees, they being at that time all vacant, there being not one biſhop of the nation alive; and the commiſſioner having declared that he meant to prorogue the parliament, they appointed a draught of an oath, or ſubſcription, to be prepared againſt the next ſeſſion, whereby every man, who was poſſeſſed of a church or any other eccleſiaſtical promotion in that kingdom, ſhould be bound to renounce the covenant, upon the penalty of being deprived; intimating likewiſe, that they reſolved at the next meeting, that no man ſhould be capable of holding any office, or being a privy-counſellor, who would not formally ſubſcribe the ſame. They ſettled a ſtanding militia of forty thouſand men, to be always ready to march upon the king's orders, and raiſed two good troops of horſe, and provided for the payment of them, and granted ſuch a ſum of money to the king, as could be reaſonably expected from ſo poor and harraſſed a country, and which would ſerve the defraying the neceſſary expences thereof: and all this being done, and the prorogation made, the commiſſioner and ſome of the other lords came to London, to kiſs the king's hand, and to receive his farther directions, having ſo fully diſpatched all his former orders: they brought likewiſe with them ſome other propoſitions which will be mentioned anon. The king received the commiſſioner with open arms, and

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was very well pleaſed with all that he had done, and no body ſeemed to magnify it more than Lauderdale, who was leaſt ſatisfied with it, nor could he now longer oppoſe the making of biſhops there; ſo having preſented the names of ſuch perſons to the king, who were thought fit to be conſecrated biſhops, whereof ſome had been with his majeſty abroad, they were all ſent for London, and ſuch of them, who had not before received their ordination from a biſhop, but from the preſbytery in Scotland, whereof the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's was one, firſt received orders of deacon and prieſt from the biſhop of London, and were afterwards conſecrated in the uſual form by the biſhops who were then near the town, and made ſo great a feaſt, as if it had been at the charge of their country.

The commiſſioner, the chancellor, the earl of Rothes, and others, with the lord Lauderdale, were deputed by the parliament to be humble ſuitors to the king, ſince they had performed on their part all that was of the duty of good ſubjects, and were ready to give any other teſtimony of their obedience that his majeſty would require; and ſince the whole kingdom was entirely at his devotion, and in ſuch a poſture, that they were able as well as willing to preſerve the peace thereof, and to ſuppreſs any ſeditious party, that ſhould attempt any diſturbance: that his majeſty would now remove the Engliſh garriſons from thence, and permit the fortifications and works, which had been erected at a vaſt charge, to be demoliſhed, that there might remain no monuments of the ſlavery they had undergone, and this they demanded as in juſtice due to them, ſince there were few men now alive, none in the leaſt power, who had contributed to the ills which had been committed, and all the men of power had undergone for ten or a dozen years as

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great oppreſſions as could be put upon them, becauſe they would not renounce their fidelity to the king; and ſince it had pleaſed God to reſtore his majeſty, they hoped he would not continue thoſe yokes and ſhackles upon them, which had been prepared and put upon them to keep them from returning to their allegiance. This was propoſed in preſence of the Engliſh council, who had been formerly admitted to be of the council of Scotland, and continued to meet upon that affair. The Scots lords enlarged with much warmth upon the intolerable oppreſſion that nation had undergone, of the poverty they ſtill ſuffered, and the impoſſibility of being able to bear any part of the charge, and the jealouſy that it would keep between the nations, which could not be to the king's profit and convenience. They had privately ſpoken before with the king upon it, and had prevailed with him to think, what they deſired, had reaſon and juſtice in it; and the Engliſh lords could not upon the ſudden and without conference together reſolve what was fit for them to ſay; ſo that they deſired, without expreſſing any inclination in the matter, that the debate might be put off to another day, which the Scots took very ill, as if the very deferring it were an argument that they thought it might be denied; but when they ſaw they would not preſently ſpeak to it, they were content that another day ſhould be appointed for the conſideration of it, and they afterwards deſired the king, that he would call the committee of the Engliſh council, who uſed to attend him in the moſt ſecret affairs, to conſult what was to be done. No body could deny but that the Scots had reaſon to demand it, and they, who thought it a bridle fit to keep in their mouths to reſtrain them from future rebellions, which they might be inclined to, could not eaſily reſolve what anſwer ſhould be given

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them in the negative; and they, who thought the demand to be ſo juſt and reaſonable, and ſo much for the king's benefit and advantage that it ought to be granted, did believe likewiſe, that it was a thing ſo capable of cenſure and reproach, in regard of the general prejudice which the Engliſh have againſt that people, that no particular perſon was able to bear the odium of the advice; nor that the king himſelf ſhould take the reſolution upon himſelf without very mature deliberation: that which advanced the propoſition as fit to be granted was the charge of maintaining thoſe forces, which that kingdom was ſo incapable of bearing, that Middleton, and Glencairne (whoſe duties and entire devotion to the king were above all exception or ſuſpicion) declared not only to the king, but to thoſe of the lords with whom they would confer freely, that, if the king thought it neceſſary to keep that people ſtill there, he muſt ſend more forces of horſe and foot thither, otherwiſe they were not ſtrong enough to ſubdue the whole kingdom, but would, as ſoon as they ſtirred out of their garriſons, be knocked in the head, nor would the country pay any thing towards their ſupport, but what ſhould be extorted by force; ſo that his majeſty would not be thought to poſſeſs that kingdom in peace, which otherwiſe he would unqueſtionably do: and this conſideration was improved by the reflection upon the body of men, of which thoſe troops conſiſted, which was a parcel of the worſt affected men to the king of the whole army, and which the general had therefore left in Scotland, when he marched into England, under the command of major-general Morgan, who was worthy of any truſt, becauſe he was not ſure enough of their fidelity to take them with him, yet fit enough to be left to reſtrain the Scots from any ſudden inſurrection; but now they ſaw all their model

brought to confuſion, they were not ſo much above temptation, but that they might, eſpecially if they were drawn together, concur in any deſperate deſign with a diſcontented party in Scotland, or with their brethren of the diſbanded army of England, who had at that ſeaſon rebellious reſolutions in the North, and that, which was of no ſmall importance, there was at this very time an opportunity to tranſport all thoſe forces (the very diſbanding whereof would not be without danger, for the reaſons aboveſaid) to Portugal, in compliance with the king's obligation upon his marriage: on the contrary, it was very notorious, that the people generally throughout England, of what quality ſoever, a few London Preſbyterians excepted, were marvellouſly pleaſed to ſee the Scots ſo admirably chaſtiſed and yoked; nor had Cromwell ever done an act that more reconciled the affections of the Engliſh to him, than his moſt rigorous treatment of that nation, and they never contributed money ſo willingly towards any of his deſigns, as for the erecting thoſe forts in the ſeveral quarters of the kingdom, which with a little addition of force they had good experience would ſuffice to keep it from giving any diſturbance to their neighbours, and the demoliſhing all thoſe ſtructures in one inſtant, and leaving an unquiet and impoveriſhed people to their own inclinations could not be grateful.

The king had during the time that he reſided in Scotland, before his march to Worceſter, contracted and had brought with him from thence a perfect deteſtation of their kirk and preſbyterian government, and a great prejudice againſt the whole family of Argyle, and ſome other perſons; but he was exceedingly reconciled to the nation, and beſides the eſteem he had of the perſons of very many noblemen, he did

did really believe the burgeſſes and common people to be as heartily affected to him, and as much at his diſpoſal, as any ſubjects he had; and the lord Lauderdale cultivated this gracious credulity with ſo much diligence, that he aſſured the king, that he might depend upon the whole Scots nation, as upon one man, to be employed as one man in his ſervice and commands of what kind ſoever, and againſt what enemy ſoever. His majeſty upon the debate of this buſineſs declared, that he did not only think it good huſbandry, in reſpect of the expence and good policy, that he might keep Scotland entirely at his devotion, whilſt Ireland remained in this confuſion, and England itſelf was threatened with ſuch factions in religion, to gratify them in what they deſired; but that he held himſelf obliged in honour, juſtice and conſcience to ſend all the forces out of that kingdom, and to deface the monuments of that time, and that there would be no more to be conſulted but what to do with thoſe forces, which was quickly reſolved, that they ſhould be all ſent to Portugal, and order was preſently given for ſhips upon which they were embarked, and then to conſider in what method the other ſhould be done. The Scots were very well ſettled with the king's reſolution upon the main, but troubled at ſomewhat that the Engliſh lords propoſed for the way, that the privy-council firſt, and then the parliament ſhould be informed of his majeſty's intentions, which they ſaid would be againſt the honour and the intereſt, and the right of Scotland, which never ſubmitted any of their concernments to be debated at the council-board of England, and the innovation would be no leſs, in remitting it to the parliament which had no pretence of juriſdiction over them: to both which they were anſwered, that the withdrawing the Engliſh forces, and demoliſhing the Engliſh fortifications, con-

cerned England no leſs than the other kingdom; and that his majeſty did not intend it ſhould be propoſed to them, as a thing of which he made any doubt, or required their advice, but only as a matter of fact, which would prevent all murmurings or cenſures, which otherwiſe might ariſe. The Engliſh lords deſired that the king's orders might be very poſitive, and that the commiſſioner might ſee them executed for the utter demoliſhing all thoſe fortifications, which the Engliſh were to abandon, that they might not be continued for the entertainment of new garriſons of the natives, which would adminiſter matter of new jealouſies, all which they chearfully conſented to, well knowing that they might afterwards perform what they thought convenient; and many did ſince believe, that there remains enough in ſome of the places to ſhelter a rebellion hereafter. The king appointed the chancellor to make a relation at a conference between the two houſes of parliament of the good poſture his majeſty's affairs of Scotland ſtood in, of their having repealed all thoſe ill laws, which had been made by the advantage of the rebellion and all that concerned the church; upon which, that his majeſty forthwith to ſettle biſhops in that kingdom, which appeared very unanimouſly devoted to his ſervice, and that the king could not but communicate this good news to them, which he knew would give them cauſe of rejoicing; and then he told them, that the Scots parliament in regard of the peace and quiet that they enjoyed, without the leaſt apprehenſion of trouble from abroad or at home, had deſired the king, that the Engliſh forces might be withdrawn, and all the fortifications razed; and that thoſe forces might be convenient his majeſty thought fit to be tranſported to Portugal, without diſcovering what his majeſty had reſolved to do, or aſking any opinion from them,

them, which, however, they might have given if they pleaſed. The effect was, that both houſes ſent their humble thanks to the king for his having vouchſafed to let them know the good condition of Scotland, of which they wiſhed his majeſty much joy, and hoped his other dominions would in a ſhort time be in the ſame tranquility, without taking any notice of the withdrawing the garriſons, and ſo that affair ended.

During this agitation in London, it was diſcernible enough that there were great jealouſies between the Scots lords. The commiſſioner and the other had cauſe to believe, that the king gave much more credit to Lauderdale than to them, and looked upon him as a man of great intereſt in that country, when they knew he had none, being neither in his quality or fortune, amongſt thoſe who were eſteemed men of power and dependance; and he thought them linked in a faction againſt him to leſſen the value the king had of him, which, indeed, was the foundation of all his credit and intereſt. What countenance ſoever he ſet upon it, he was ſenſibly afflicted at the downfall of the preſbytery, and that Middleton had brought that to paſs without any difficulty (as he had before told the king he would) which he had aſſured his majeſty was impoſſible to be effected but in long time and by many ſtratagems. The marquis of Argyle had been a man univerſally odious to the whole nation, ſome miniſters and preachers excepted, and there had been always thought to have been an implacable animoſity from Lauderdale towards him; and after the king's return, no body had appeared more againſt him, nor more inſiſted upon his not being admitted to his majeſty's preſence, or for his being ſent into Scotland to be tried; yet after all this, it was diſcovered, that he had interpoſed all

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he could with his majeſty to ſerve him, and employed all his intereſt in Scotland to the ſame purpoſe, and the marquis was no ſooner executed, but the earl of Lauderdale had prevailed with the king immediately to give his ſon, the lord Lorne, (who had remained in London to ſolicit on his father's behalf) leave to kiſs his hand, and to create him earl of Argyle, and to confer on him the office of general juſtice of the highlands, by which his father had been qualified to do moſt of the wickedneſſes he had committed, all which the parliament of Scotland thought the moſt ſenſible affront to them, that they could undergo. It was well known, that this young man, who was captain of the king's guard when he was in Scotland, had treated his majeſty with that rudeneſs and barbarity, that he was much more odious to him than his father; and in all the letters which Lauderdale had found opportunity to write, whilſt he was a priſoner in England, to the king when he was beyond the ſeas, inveighed equally againſt the ſon as the father, and never gave him any title than that toad's bird: ſo that no body could imagine from whence this change could proceed, but from a deſign to preſerve an intereſt in the preſbyterian party, againſt the time he ſhould have occaſion to uſe them. Then there were circumſtances in this grace of the king to the lord Lorne, that exceeded all men's comprehenſion; for his majeſty cauſed all the eſtate of the marquis of Argyle, which did not appear in any degree ſo conſiderable, as it was generally believed to have been, to be ſeized upon as forfeited to him, and then would grant it to the ſon ſo abſolutely, that neither the owners ſhould recover what had been injurioufly and violently taken from them for their loyalty to the king, nor the creditors receive ſatisfaction for the juſt debts which were due to them, and

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which muſt have been ſatisfied, if the king had retained the forfeiture; but upon the application of the commiſſioner and the other lords that the king would hear all the perſons concerned, there was ſome mitigation in theſe particulars, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition which Lauderdale did barefaced make on the behalf of the lord Lorne, and which the other bore with great indignation, which he knew very well, and did believe that the oath and ſubſcription, which he well knew they had contrived for the next ſeſſion of parliament was levelled at him; that not taking it, as they did not believe he would do, the ſecretary of Scotland's place might become void, which they had much rather ſhould have been in any man's hand than in his; and therefore he took all occaſions to profeſs and declare (beſides his conſtant rallery at the preſbytery) that if they ſhould require him to ſubſcribe that he is a Turk, he would do it, before he would loſe his office. The matter of theſe offences being moſt in private, and ſo not publickly taken notice of, they made a fair ſhew, and kept good quarter towards each other, and the king conſenting to all that the commiſſioner propoſed with reference to the publick, being indeed abundantly ſatisfied with his comportment, and at parting promiſed to give him the office of treaſurer, when by Crawford's refuſing to ſubſcribe it ſhould become void, they with all their biſhops returned again for Scotland with incurable jealouſy of Lauderdale, who remained waiting upon the king, and reſolved to croſs all their deſigns he could, and quietly to expect a better opportunity to undo, what he could not for the preſent prevent.

It is time now to return to the parliament of England, which, according to the time of prorogation met again in March,

March, towards the entrance into the year 1664, when at their firſt meeting informed at large of the inſurrection that had been endeavoured in the ſummer before in Yorkſhire, which, how fooliſhly ſoever contrived, was a very great inſtance of the diſtemper of the nation, that three years after diſbanding the army, the officers thereof ſhould remain ſtill ſo unquiet, as to hope to give any ſignal diſturbance to the peace of the kingdom by ſuch a commotion as they could upon their credit raiſe. The continual diſcourſe of plots and inſurrections had ſo wearied the king, that he even reſolved to give no more countenance to any ſuch informations, nor to trouble himſelf with enquiry into them; but to leave the peace of the kingdom againſt any ſuch attempts to the vigilance of the civil magiſtrates, and the care of the officers of the militia, which he preſumed would be ſufficient to quell and ſuppreſs any ordinary fanatick deſign; and upon this reſolution, and to avoid the reproach of the late times, of the contriving plots only to commit men to priſon, againſt whom there was any prejudice, he totally neglected the firſt information he received of this ſeditious purpoſe; but when the intelligence was continued from ſeveral parts, and ſo particularly for the time and place of the rendezvous, and for the ſeizing upon the city of York, and there was evidence, that ſome men of eſtate and fortune who were held wary and diſcreet men, were engaged in it, his majeſty thought it time to provide againſt it, and not only by commending the care of it to the lord lieutenants and deputy lieutenants of the countries adjacent, but ſent likewiſe ſeveral troops of his own horſe to poſſeſs the city of York before the day appointed, and to attend ſome of the places of the rendezvous; and they came very ſeaſonably and ſurpriſed many upon the very place, before

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their company was ſtrong enough to make reſiſtance; others did make ſome reſiſtance, but quickly fled, and were diſperſed, many were taken, and upon their examination behaved themſelves as if they were ſure to be quickly reſcued; for it appeared that they did believe, that the inſurrection would have been general throughout the kingdom, and that all the diſbanded army would have been brought together at ſeveral rendezvous. All the priſons in the North were ſo full, that the king thought it neceſſary to ſend down four or five of the judges of the ſeveral benches of Weſtminſter-Hall to York, with a commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer to examine the whole matter there. Though the judges did not believe that they had diſcovered the bottom of the whole conſpiracy, they found cauſe to condemn very many, whereof ſeventeen or eighteen were executed, ſome reprieved, and very many left in priſon to be tried at the next aſſizes. Among thoſe who were executed, the man who was moſt looked upon, was one Rymer, of the quality of the better ſort of grand-jury men, and held a wiſe man, and was known to be truſted by the greateſt men who had been in rebellion, and he was diſcovered by a perſon of intimate truſt with him, who had heretofore the ſame affections with him, but would venture no more. He was a ſullen man, and uſed few words to excuſe himſelf, and none to hurt any body elſe; though he was thought to know much, and that having a good eſtate he would never have embarked in a deſign, that had no probability of Succeſs. Some of the priſoners declared, that they were aſſured by thoſe who engaged them, that ſuch and ſuch great men would appear at the rendezvous, or ſoon after; but that was not thought a ſufficient ground to trouble any man, though ſome of them were very liable to ſuſpicion, ſince in all combinations of that

kind, it is a moſt uſual artifice to work upon weak men, by perſwading them, that other men, of whom they have great eſteem, are engaged in it, who, in truth, know nothing of it. The judges were returned from York little time before the parliament met, and therefore the king thought it fit to awaken them to much vigilance, by informing them with what ſecreſy that conſpiracy had been carried, and his majeſty aſſured them that he was not yet at the bottom of that buſineſs, and that it appeared manifeſtly, that this conſpiracy was but a branch of that, which he had diſcovered as well as he could to them about two years ſince, and had been then executed nearer hand, if he had not by God's goodneſs come to the knowledge of ſome of the principal contrivers, and ſo ſecured them from doing the miſchief they intended.

His majeſty told them, that they would wonder (yet he ſaid what was true) that there were now even in thoſe parts, when they ſee their friends under trial and execution, ſtill purſuing the ſame conſultations; and it was evident that that they had correſpondence with deſperate perſons in moſt counties, and a ſtanding council in London itſelf, from which they receive their directions, and by whom they were adviſed to defer their laſt intended inſurrection; but theſe orders ſerved only to diſtract them, and came too late to prevent their deſtruction. He ſaid, he knew more of their intrigues than they thought he did, and hoped he ſhould ſhortly diſcover the bottom: in the mean time, he deſired the parliament that they might be all as watchful to prevent, as they were to contrive their miſchief. He ſaid, he could not upon this occaſion omit to tell them, that theſe deſperate men in their councils (as appeared by ſeveral examinations) had not been all of one mind in the ways of carrying on their wicked reſolutions: ſome would ſtill inſiſt upon the

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authority of the long parliament, of which they ſay they have members enough willing to meet, others have fancied to themſelves by ſome computation of their own, upon ſome clauſe in the triennial bill, that this preſent parliament was at an end ſome months ſince; and that for want of new writs they may aſſemble themſelves, and chuſe members for parliament, and that this is the beſt expedient to bring themſelves together for their other purpoſes: for the long parliament, his majeſty ſaid, that he and they together could do no more, than he had done, to inform and compoſe the minds of men, let them proceed upon that at their peril; but he thought there had been nothing done to diſabuſe men in reſpect of the triennial bill: he confeſſed, that he had often himſelf read over that bill, and though there is no colour for the fancy of determination of this parliament; yet he would not deny them, that he had always expected that they would, and even wondered that they had not conſidered the wonderful clauſes in that bill, which had paſſed in a time very uncareful of the dignity of the crown, or the ſecurity of the people. His majeſty deſired the ſpeaker and the gentlemen of the houſe of commons, that they would give that triennial bill a reading in their houſe, and then in God's name they might do what they thought fit for him, themſelves, and the whole kingdom. His majeſty ſaid, that he needed not to tell them, how much he loved parliaments; never king was ſo much beholding to parliaments as he had been, nor did he think that the crown could ever be happy without frequent parliaments; but he wiſhed them to aſſure themſelves, that if he ſhould think otherwiſe, he would never ſuffer a parliament to come together by the means preſcribed by that bill. He renewed his thanks to them for the ſupply they gave him the laſt ſeſſions of four ſubſidies; yet he could not but tell them,

that that ſupply was fallen much ſhort of what he expected and they intended; that it would hardly be believed, yet they knew it to be true, that very many perſons, who have eſtates of three or four thouſand pounds by the year, do not pay for theſe four ſubſidies ſixteen pounds; ſo that whereas they intended and declared, that they ſhould be collected according to former precedents, they do not now ariſe to have the proportion they did in the time of queen Elizabeth, and yet ſure the crown wants more now than it did then, and the ſubject is at leaſt as well able to give. His majeſty ſaid, the truth is, by the licence of the late ill time, and the ill humour of this, too many of the people and even of thoſe who make fair profeſſions, believe it to be no ſin to defraud the crown of any thing that is due to it; that they no ſooner gave him tonnage aud poundage than men were deviſing all the means they could to ſteal cuſtom; nor could the farmers be ſo vigilant for the collection, as others were to ſteal the duties: they gave him the exciſe, which all people abroad believe to be the moſt inſenſible impoſition that can be laid upon a people: what conſpiracies and combinations were entered into againſt it by the brewers, who, he was ſure, did not bear the burthen themſelves, even to bring that revenue to nothing, they would hear in Weſtminſter-Hall. They had given him the chimney money, which they had reaſon to believe was a growing revenue; for men build at leaſt faſt enough, and they would therefore wonder that it was already declined, and that this half year brings in leſs than the former did. He deſired them therefore, that they would review that bill, and ſince he was ſure, that they would have him receive whatſoever they gave, that he might have the collecting and huſbanding of it by his own officers, and then he doubted

doubted not but to improve that receipt, and he would be cozened as little as he could. His majeſty concluded with deſiring and conjuring them to keep a very good correſpondence together, that it might not be in the power of any ſeditious or factious ſpirits to make them jealous of each other, or either of them jealous of him, till they ſee him pretend one thing, and do another, which he was ſure they had never yet done. He aſſured them, that it ſhould be in no body's power to make him jealous of them, and ſo deſired them that they would diſpatch what they found neceſſary, that they might be ready for a ſeſſion within two months or thereabouts, becauſe the ſeaſon of the year would invite them all to take the country air.

It was very happy for his majeſty that he did cut out their work to their hand, and aſked no money of them, and limited them a ſhort time to continue together; it made their councils very unanimous, and though they raiſed no new taxes and impoſitions upon the people, they made what they had before raiſed much more valuable to the king than it was before, by paſſing other acts and declarations for the explaining many things, and the better collecting the money they had formerly given, which much added to his majeſty's profit without grieving the people, who were rather gratified in the remedies which were provided againſt frauds and cozenage. The parliament had ſate but very little more than ten days when they preſented a bill to his majeſty for the repeal of the triennial bill, which he had recommended to them, and which was ſo grateful to him, that he came in perſon to the houſe to paſs it, and to thank them, and he told them that every good Engliſhman would thank them for it; for it could only have ſerved to diſcredit parliaments, to make the crown jealous of parliaments, and

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parliaments of the crown, and perſwaded neighbour princes, that England was not governed under a monarch. The truth is, it had paſſed in a very jealous and ſeditious time, when the wickedneſs was firſt in hatching, that ripened afterwards to a diſmal perfection, and when all who were ſworn never to conſent to the diſheriſon of the crown, thought only of preſerving their own inheritance, which they had gotten, or improving it at the expence of the crown, and made it manifeſt enough that it ſhould wither, at leaſt, whilſt it ſtood upon the head of that king; for at that time the conſpiracy went no farther, that is, amongſt thoſe who had then credit to promote its paſſage, though they were weak men, that thought it could reſt there. As they made this entrance, ſo they were wholly intent upon matters of moment, and diſpatched all they intended to do, within the two months, in which the king deſired they would be ready for a prorogation; and as there was great order and unanimity in their debates, ſo they diſpatched more buſineſs of publick importance and conſequence, than any other parliament had done in twice the time; for beſides the repeal of the odious bill before-mentioned, they made a very good additional bill for the chimney-money, which made that revenue much more conſiderable: and they paſſed likewiſe another bill againſt the frequenting of conventicles, which was looked upon as the greateſt diſcountenance the parliament had yet given to all the factions in religion, and if it had been vigorouſly executed, would, no doubt, have produced a thorough reformation. They made likewiſe a very good act, and very neceſſary for a time of ſuch corruption, that had contracted new ways of diſhoneſty and villainy, that former times had not thought of, when many unworthy and cowardly maſters of ſhips

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and ſeamen had been contented to be robbed, and all their owners goods to be taken, upon an allowance made to them by the pyrates, for the diſcovery and puniſhment whereof the law had not enough provided: they therefore preſented a bill to the king for the diſcovery and puniſhment of all ſuch treacherous and infamous actions, and for the reward of ſuch honeſt and ſtout ſeamen, as ſhould manfully and couragiouſly defend their owners goods, and therein maintain the honour of the nation. All this they preſented to his majeſty, and was confirmed by his royal aſſent, on the the 17th of May, when his majeſty, after giving ſuch thanks to them as they deſerved, told them, he did not intend to bring them together again till the month of November, that they might enjoy the ſummer in the tranſaction of their own affairs; yet becauſe there might ſome emergent occaſion fall out, that might make him to find them together ſooner, he would prorogue them only to Auguſt, and before the day they ſhould have ſeaſonable notice by proclamation not to give their attendance, except ſuch occaſion ſhould fall out, and ſo they were prorogued to a day in Auguſt, but met not till November following.

During this ſhort ſeſſion of parliament, they, who were very ſolicitous to promote a war with Holland, forgot not what they had to do; but they quickly diſcerned that it was not a good ſeaſon to mention the giving of money, which the king himſelf had forbore to mention, that the people might ſee one ſeſſion of parliament paſs without granting new impoſitions, which they had not yet ſeen; and therefore, it would be as unſeaſonable to ſpeak of a war: however, they made ſuch an approach towards it, as might make a further advance much more eaſy. The merchants in the committee of trade much lamented the obſtructions and diſ-

couragements which they had long found in their commerce by ſea, and with other nations, and which were not removed even by the bleſſed return of the king, all which they imputed to the pride and inſolence of the Hollanders, who, they ſaid, obſerved no laws of commerce, or any conditions which themſelves conſented to; that by their fraud and practice the Engliſh were almoſt driven out of the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, and had their trade in Turky and Africa much diminiſhed, in ſum; that beſides many unſufferable indignities offered by them to his majeſty and the crown of England, his ſubjects had in few years ſuſtained the damage of ſeven or eight hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, all which, with ſome particular inſtances, being reported from the committee of trade to the houſe, they had deſired an audience from his majeſty, and then preſented this grievance to him, and deſired his majeſty that he would give ſuch order in it, as to his wiſdom ſhould ſeem fit, that might produce juſt and honourable ſatisfaction. The king, who continued firm to his former reſolution, anſwered them, that he would tranſmit the addreſs they had preſented to him, to his reſident at the Hague, with order that he ſhould inform the ſtates of it, and require ſatisfaction, which he hoped the States-General would yield unto, rather than to compel him to demand juſtice in another way. The anſwer pleaſed them well, nor could they wiſh that the proſecution ſhould be put into a better hand, than the reſident's, who was a member of the houſe, and a man, who had inflamed them more, than the merchants themſelves againſt the Dutch. That reſident was Sir George Downing, a man of an obſcure birth, and more obſcure education, which he had received in part in New-England: he had paſſed through many offices in Cromwell's army, of Chaplain, Scoutmaſter,

maſter, and other employments, and at laſt got a very particular credit and confidence with him, and under that countenance married a beautiful lady, of a very noble extraction, which was the fate of many bold men in that preſumptuous time; and when Cromwell had ſubdued the Dutch to that temper he wiſhed, and thereupon made a peace with them, he ſent this man to reſide as his agent with them, being a man of a proud and inſolent ſpirit, and would add to any imperious command of his ſomewhat of the bitterneſs of his own ſpirit; and he did ſo fully execute his charge in all things, eſpecially when he might manifeſt his animoſity againſt the royal party, that when the king himſelf had once during his reſidence at Bruſſels, for his divertiſement, made a journey incognito, with not above four perſons to ſee Amſterdam, and from thence the towns of North-Holland, Downing coming to have notice of it, delivered a memorial to the States of Holland, wherein he incloſed the third article of their treaty, by which they were obliged not to ſuffer any traitor, rebel, or any other perſon, who was declared an enemy to the commonwealth of England, to reſide or ſtay in their dominions; and told them, that Charles Stuart, and the marquis of Ormond, had been lately in Amſterdam, and were ſtill in ſome places adjacent, and required that they might not be permitted to remain in any part of their dominions. Whereupon the ſtates of Holland ſent preſently to the princeſs royal, who was then at her country houſe of Hounſlerdyke, that if her brother were then with her, or ſhould come to her, that he ſhould forthwith depart out of their province: and not ſatisfied herewith they publiſhed an order in the Hague to the ſame purpoſe, which was ſent to Amſterdam and other towns according to their cuſtom. With this rude punctuality he be-

haved himſelf during the life of Cromwell, and while his ſon retained the uſurpation; but when he ſaw him thrown out with that contempt, and that the government was not like to be ſettled again, till there was a reſort to the old foundation, he bethought himſelf how he might have a reſerve of the king's favour: and the marquis of Ormond making a journey about that time incognito to the Hague, upon a marriage of his eldeſt ſon with a noble lady, whoſe friends lived there, Downing found an opportunity to have a private conference with him, and made offer of his ſervice to the king, if his devotion might be concealed, without which it would be uſeleſs to his majeſty, and for an earneſt of his fidelity he informed him of ſome particulars, which were of moment for the king to know, amongſt which one was, that a perſon, who in reſpect of his very honourable extraction, and the preſent obligations himſelf had to the royal family, was not ſuſpected, gave him and had long done, conſtant intelligence of what the king did, and of many particulars which in their nature deſerved to be more ſecret, which he had always ſent to Cromwell whilſt he was living; but ſince his death, having a reſolution to ſerve the king, he had never diſſerved him, and would hereafter give him notice of any thing that it would be neceſſary to be informed of with reference to England or Holland. The marquis thought it very fit to accept of ſuch an inſtrument, and promiſed him to acquaint his majeſty with his good affection, who, he preſumed, would receive it graciouſly, and give him as much encouragement to continue it, as his preſent condition would permit. To which the other replied, that he knew the king's preſent condition too well, to expect any reward from him; but if his majeſty would vouchſafe, when he ſhould be reſtored, to confirm to him the

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office he then held of a teller in the exchequer, and continue him in this employment he then had in Holland, where he preſumed he ſhould be able to do him more ſervice than a ſtranger could do, he would think himſelf abundantly rewarded; of all which when the marquis advertiſed the king at his return to Bruſſels, he had authority to aſſure him of the king's acceptation, and that all that he expected ſhould be made good.

This was the ground and reaſon that when the king came to the Hague the year following to embark for England, he received Downing ſo graciouſly, and knighted him, and left him there as his reſident; which they, who were near the king, and knew nothing of what had paſſed, wondered at, as much as ſtrangers, who had obſerved his former behaviour: and the ſtates themſelves, who would not, at ſuch a time of publick joy, do any thing that might be ungrateful to his majeſty, could not forbear to lament in private, that his majeſty would depute a perſon to have his authority who had never uſed any other dialect to perſwade them to do any thing he propoſed, but threats if they ſhould not do it; and who at ſeveral times had diſobliged moſt of their perſons by his inſolence; and from the time of his majeſty's departure from thence, he never made thoſe repreſentations which men in thoſe miniſtries uſed to do, but put the worſt commentaries upon all their actions: and when he ſate afterwards as a member in the houſe, returning ſtill in the interval of parliament, to his employment at the Hague, he took all opportunities to inveigh againſt their uſurpations in trade, and either did, or pretended to know many of their myſteries of iniquity, in opening of which he rendered himſelf acceptable to the houſe, though he was a voluminous ſpeaker, which naturally they do not like. When this pro-

vince was committed to him of expoſtulation for the injuries ſuſtained in ſeveral places from the Dutch, he had his wiſh, and uſed little modeſty in the urging it. They anſwered, that moſt of the particulars, of which he complained, were put under oblivion by the late treaty; and that in conſideration thereof they had yielded to many particulars for the benefit of the Engliſh; and that for the other particulars, they were likewiſe, by the ſame treaty, referred to a proceſs in juſtice, of which they had yet no cauſe to complain, nor had there been any action pretended to be committed ſince the treaty was concluded, which was not many months before, that might occaſion a miſunderſtanding; and ſurely, at this time, when theſe things were urged, all this was true: but he, according to the method he had accuſtomed, inſiſted upon his own demand, and frequently reproached them with their former ſubmiſſions to Cromwell, and their preſent preſumptions upon the goodneſs and generoſity of the king. It is without queſtion that the States-General did by the ſtandard of their own warineſs and circumſpection not ſuſpect that the king did intend to make a war upon them; they well knew the ſtreights and neceſſities in which his affairs ſtood, with reference to money and to the ſeveral diſtempers of the nation in matters of religion, which might probably grow more dangerous if there were a foreign war; and concluded that Downing's importunities and menaces were but the reſults of his own impetuoſity, and that the king would not be ſolicitous to interrupt and part with his own peace, and therefore their own ſhips they ſent out as they uſed to do, and thoſe for the coaſt of Guiney better prepared and ſtronger than of courſe, nor was the royal company leſs vigilant to carry on that trade; but about the ſame time ſent a ſtronger fleet of merchant ſhips than they had

had ever before done, and for their better encouragement the king lent them two of his own Ships for a convoy: and at this time they gave the king an advantage in point of juſtice, and which concerned all other nations in point of traffick and commerce. It had been begun by them in the Eaſt-Indies, where, after they had planted themſelves in great and ſtrong towns, and had many harbours well fortified, in which they conſtantly maintained a great number of good and ſtrong Ships, by which they were abſolute maſters of thoſe ſeas, and forced the neighbour kings and princes to enter into ſuch terms of amity with them as they thought fit to require; and if they found that any advantageous trade was driven in any port by any other nation, they preſently ſent their ſhips to lie before that port, and denounced war againſt the prince, to whom that port belonged; which being done they publiſhed a declaration, that it ſhould not be lawful for any nation whatſoever, to trade in the territories of that prince, with whom they were then in war; and upon this pretence they would not ſuffer an Engliſh ſhip belonging to the Eaſt-India company to enter into a port, and to lade and take in a cargo of goods that had been provided by their factors there, before there was any mention or imagination of ſuch a war, and of which there was no other inſtance of hoſtility than the very declaration; and at this time they tranſplanted this new prerogative to Guiney, and having, as they ſaid, for there was no other evidence of it, a war with one of thoſe princes, they would not ſuffer the Engliſh ſhips to enter into thoſe harbours, where they had always traded. The king received animadverſion of this unheard of inſolence and uſurpation, and added this more juſt complaint to the former, and required his reſident to demand a poſitive renunciation of all pretence

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to ſuch an odious uſurpation, and a revocation of thoſe orders, which their officers had publiſhed. To this complaint and demand they deferred to make anſwer, till their embaſſador had preſented a grievance to the king.

One of thoſe ſhips of war, which the king had lent to the Royal company for the convoy of their fleet to Guiney, had in the voyage thither aſſaulted and taken a fort belonging to the Dutch, near Cape Verde, which was of more incommodity to them, than of benefit to the Engliſh. Of this invaſion their embaſſador made a loud complaint, and demanded that the captain might be puniſhed ſeverely; and in the mean time, that the king would give a preſent order to him, the embaſſador, for the redelivery of the place, and all that was in it, and he would ſend it to his maſters, who would forthwith ſend a ſhip to demand it. The king had in truth heard nothing of it, and aſſured the embaſſador, that the captain, if he had done any ſuch thing, had not the leaſt commiſſion or authority for the doing it, and that he was ſure he was upon his way homeward, ſo that he might be expected ſpeedily, and then he ſhould be ſure to undergo ſuch puniſhment as the nature of his offence required, when the matter ſhould be examined, and they ſhould then receive full reparation. This anſwer, how reaſonable ſoever, ſatisfied them not, nothing would ſerve their turn but a preſent reſtitution, before his majeſty could be informed of the provocation or ground that had produced ſo unwarrantable an action. They gave preſent orders for the equipping a very great fleet, and the raiſing many land-ſoldiers, making greater preparations for war, than they had made in many years before: they likewiſe prepared a ſtrong fleet for Guiney, and granted a commiſſion (which

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was publiſhed in print) to the commander in chief to make war upon the Engliſh in thoſe parts, and to do them all the miſchief they could. Prince Rupert, who had been heretofore with the fleet then under his command in the beginning of the king's reign upon the coaſt of Guiney, and by the report and teſtimony he gave of that coaſt, the Royal company had received great encouragement; and now upon this inſolent demeanor of the Dutch, and publiſhing the commiſſion they had ſent to their commander in chief, he offered his ſervice to the king, to ſail into thoſe parts with ſuch a fleet as his majeſty thought fit to ſend, with which he made little doubt to ſecure trade, and abate the preſumption of the Dutch; and hereupon a fleet was likewiſe preparing for that purpoſe, to be commanded by prince Rupert. The parliament had before declared, when they made their addreſs to the king againſt the Dutch for obſtructing the trade, that they would with their lives and fortunes aſſiſt his majeſty againſt all oppoſitions whatſoever, which he ſhould meet with in the removal of thoſe obſtructions which they believed would terrify, but, in truth, made the Dutch merry; and in ſome of their declarations and anſwers to Downing's memorials, they mentioned it with too much pride and contempt, and in this poſture the diſputes were when the parliament met again in November, which came together for the moſt part, without a deſire either to give money, or make war; and Downing who laboured heartily to incenſe us, and to provoke them, in all his diſpatches declared, that all thoſe inſolencies proceeded only from the malignity of the ſtates of Holland, which could vent itſelf no further than in words; but that the States-General, without whoſe concurrence no war could be made, abhorred the thought of it, and there is no doubt, that was true:

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and the Dutch embaſſador, who remained at London, and was a very honeſt weak man, and did all the offices he could to prevent it, did not think it poſſible it could come to paſs, but that there might be ſome ſcuttles upon the coaſt of Guiney, by the direction of the Weſt-India company, of whoſe actions the States-General took notice, but would cauſe juſtice to be done upon complaint, and not ſuffer the publick peace to be diſturbed upon their pretences; and ſo the king forbore to demand any ſupply from the parliament, becauſe an ordinary ſupply would rather diſcredit his demands than advance them, and he could not expect an extraordinary ſupply, but when the war was unqueſtionable: and the States-General at this time were made a property by the ſtates of Holland, who had given private orders for their own concernments, and preſented an humble deſire to the king by their embaſſador, that prince Rupert's fleet might ſtay in harbour, as their's likewiſe, that was prepared for Guiney, ſhould, till ſome means might be found for the accommodation of all differences: whereas, before they pretended that they would ſend their Guiney fleet through the channel, convoyed by their admiral, with a fleet of fifty ſail, which report had before ſtopped prince Rupert, when he was under ſail for Guiney, to wait and expect that piece of bravery; but this addreſs from the States-General made all men believe there would be an accommodation, without ſo much as any hoſtility in Guiney. But it was quickly diſcovered that they were the honeſter men, when they gave the worſt words; for before the States-General ſent to the king to ſtop prince Rupert in harbour, and that their fleet ſhould remain likewiſe in their harbours, the ſtates of Holland, or that committee that was qualified by them, had with great privacy ſent orders to De Ruiter, who was

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in the Mediterranean, to make all poſſible haſte with his fleet to go to the coaſt of Guiney, and not only to retake the fort near Cape Verde, that the Engliſh had taken from them, but likewiſe to take what places he could, which were in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, and to do them what damage he could in thoſe parts; ſo that they might well offer that their fleet ſhould now remain in their harbours in Holland. When De Ruiter had been ſent into the Mediterranean, the pretence was, that it was againſt pyrates of Algiers and Tunis, who had, in truth, preyed very much upon the Dutch, taken very many of their ſhips, and had abundance of their ſubjects in chains: and when that fleet was ſent into the Mediterranean, the embaſſador had deſired the king, that his majeſty's fleet, that was then in thoſe parts, might upon all occaſions join with De Ruiter, when opportunities ſhould be offered thereby to infeſt the Turks, which the king conſented to, and ſent orders accordingly: but the Dutch had no ſuch purpoſe, his buſineſs was to ranſom the captives with money, and not to exact the delivery of them by force, and to make an accommodation for the time to come as well as he could; and when the Engliſh fleet was at any time in purſuit of any of the Algerines, and expected that the Dutch, by whom they muſt paſs, would have given a little ſtop to their flight, which they might eaſily have done, they rather aſſiſted than obſtructed their eſcape; and having made a very diſhonourable peace with the pyrates, he made haſte to proſecute his orders for the coaſt of Guiney. As ſoon as the king knew of this impudent affront, and that De Ruiter was, in truth, gone out of the Mediterranean, he thought he might juſtly ſeize upon any ſhips of theirs to ſatisfy the damage that he could not but ſuſtain by De Ruiter, in Guiney; and ſo it being the ſeaſon of

year that the Dutch fleet returned with their wines for Bourdeaux, Rochelle, and other parts of France, ſuch of them as were forced by the weather to put into the Engliſh harbours were ſeized upon, and the duke of York having put himſelf on board with a fleet of about fifty ſail, upon the report of the Dutch being come out to defend theirs, took many others, even upon their own coaſts, which they choſe rather to ſuffer, than to venture out of their ports to relieve them: however, there was not any one of thoſe ſhips ſuffered to be unladen, or any prejudice done to them, but they were all preſerved unhurt till notice might arrive from Guiney what De Ruiter had done there; but undoubted intelligence arrived in a very ſhort time after, that De Ruiter had declared and begun the war upon the coaſt of Africa, not only by a forcible retaking the fort which had been taken from them, and which his majeſty had offered to deliver, but by ſeizing upon ſeveral Engliſh ſhips in thoſe parts, and by aſſaulting and taking other his majeſty's forts and places, and exerciſing all the acts of hoſtility which his commiſſion authorized him to do, and in a very ſhort time after, the Eaſt-India company complained and informed the king, that when their officer had demanded the redelivery of the iſle of Poleroon, according to the article of the late treaty, and delivered the letters and orders from the States-General and States of Holland, which their embaſſadors had given at London, to the governor and captain of that iſland, who, after making him ſtay two or three days there with the ſhip and the men he brought with him, told him, that upon a better peruſal of the orders which he had brought, he found that they were not ſufficient, and therefore, till he ſhould receive fuller orders, he could not give up the place; and ſo the officer and ſhip, which had

had been ſent at a great charge, was neceſſitated to return, without any effect than the affront and indignity to his majeſty.

When there was now no remedy, and the war was actually made, upon the king upon what provocation ſoever, there was nothing to be done but to reſort to the parliament, which had been ſo earneſt to enter into it; a fleet muſt be prepared equal to what the Dutch would infallibly make ready againſt the Spring, and worthy of the preſence of the duke of York, who was impatient to engage his own perſon in the conduct of it, and the king had given his promiſe to him that he ſhould, when he had, God knows, no purpoſe, that there ſhould be a war. It was now quickly diſcovered that there was not the ſame alacrity towards a war now, after it was begun, in the parliament, as there had been, when they made their vote, and they would have been glad, that any expedient might have been found for a reconciliation, and that the captain might have been called in queſtion who firſt gave offence by taking the fort from the Dutch near Cape Verde, which ſome had preſſed for when he came home, before any more miſchief done, and the not calling him in queſtion made many believe, that he had done nothing without warrant or promiſe of protection. The Dutch ſtill diſclaimed all thought or purpoſe of war, and ſeemed highly offended with their governor of Poleroon, and proteſted that the not delivery of the place proceeded only for want of an order from the governor of Batavia, which order came the next day after the Engliſh ſhip was departed; but that they had given notice of it to the Engliſh factory at Bantam, that the ſame or another Engliſh ſhip might return and receive it, and they were confident that it was then in the hand of the Engliſh; but it was now too

late to expect any honourable peace, at leaſt, without very notable preparations for a war, which could not be done without ready money, and whatever orders had been given for the preſervation of the Dutch ſhips, it quickly appeared that much of them had been embezzled or diſpoſed of, before they were brought to any judicatory, or adjudged to be prize; and there was too much cauſe to fear, that the reſt would be diſpoſed of to other purpoſes, than the ſupport of the war, though nothing was more poſitively ſpoken, than that the war would maintain itſelf. The parliament ſtill promiſed fairly, and entered upon conſultation how and what money to raiſe, and now the king commanded the chancellor and the treaſurer to meet with thoſe members of the houſe of commons, with whom they had uſed to conſult, and to whom the king had joined others upon whom he was told he might more depend, and to adjuſt together what ſum ſhould be propoſed, and how and in what manner to propoſe and conduct it. It was about the month of January, and though the duke took indefatigable pains, by going himſelf ſometimes to Portſmouth, and ſometimes to Chatham, to cauſe the ſhips and all proviſions to be ready, that he might be at ſea before the Dutch; yet let what advance there could be made, as indeed there was great, nothing could be ſaid to be done till a great ſtock of ready money could be provided, and it would be long after the parliament had done their part, before ready money would be got, and therefore no more time muſt be loſt, without taking a particular reſolution. The meeting of thoſe perſons the king appointed was at Worceſter-houſe, where the chancellor and the treaſurer (who were known to be averſe from the war) told the reſt, that there was no more debate now to be, war or no war, it was come upon us, and

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we were now only to contrive the beſt way of carrying it on with ſucceſs, which could only be done by raiſing a great preſent ſum of money, that the enemy might ſee that we were prepared to continue it, as well as to begin. They, who were moſt deſirous of the war, Sir Harry Bennet and Mr. Coventry, who were, in truth, the men who brought it upon the nation, with their friends, were of opinion that there ſhould not be a great ſum demanded at preſent, but only ſo much as might carry out the fleet in the Spring, and ſufficient proviſions might be made for the Summer's ſervice, and then when the war was once thoroughly entered into, another and a better ſupply might be gotten about Michaelmas, when there was reaſon to hope that ſome good ſucceſs would diſpoſe all men to a frank proſecution of the war: whereas thoſe gentlemen had hitherto inflamed the king with an aſſurance, that he could not aſk more money of the parliament, than they would readily give him, if he were engaged in this war, which the whole kingdom ſo much deſired.

The chancellor and the treaſurer were of opinion, that the houſe of commons could never be in a better diſpoſition to give than they were at preſent, that hereafter they might grow weary and apt to find fault with the conduct, eſpecially, when they found the country was not ſo well pleaſed with the war, as they were now conceived to be, whereas now the war was begun, and the king engaged in it, as much as he could be after ten battles, and all upon their deſire and their promiſe, they could not refuſe to give any thing propoſed within the compaſs of that reaſon, which all underſtanding men might examine and judge of: that it was evident enough that the true ground of all the confidence the Dutch had was from their opinion of the king's

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neceſſities and want of money, and their belief that the parliament would ſupply him very ſparingly, and not long to continue ſuch an expence as they very well knew that a war at ſea would require, and they would be much confirmed in this their imagination, if at the beginning they ſhould ſee the parliament give him ſuch a ſum of money, as ſeemed to be implied by what had been ſaid: that they, therefore, thought it abſolutely neceſſary that the king ſhould propoſe as much, that is, that his friends ſhould move for ſuch a ſum, as might upon a reaſonable computation, which every man would be ready to make, and of which wiſe men upon experience would readily make an eſtimate, carry on the war for a full year, that is, for the ſetting out the preſent fleet, and paying it off upon its return, and for the ſetting out another fleet the next ſpring: if this were now done, his majeſty would not be involved in importunate neceſſities the next winter, but he might calmly and deliberately conſult upon ſuch further ſupplies, as the experience of what would be then paſt, ſhould ſuggeſt to be neceſſary, and that this would give his majeſty ſuch a reputation with all his neighbours, and ſuch terror to his enemies, that it would probably diſpoſe them to peace. They told them, the beſt method to compute what the expence might amount to in a year, would be, by reflecting upon the diſproportion of the charge, we were now already engaged in, and what had been eſtimated four months ſince, when the war was deſigned: that it was well known to Mr. Coventry, who had been always preſent at thoſe conferences, that it had been ſaid by the moſt experienced ſea-officers, and thoſe who had fought at the late battles againſt the Dutch, that a fleet of forty or fifty ſuch ſhips, as the king's were, would be ſtrength ſufficient to beat all the ſhips the Dutch had out

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of the narrow ſeas, and one very eminent man among them ſaid, he would not deſire above fifty ſhips, to fight with all they had, and that he was confident, that a greater number than fifty could never be brought to fight orderly or uſefully, and yet that there were at preſent no fewer than fourſcore good ſhips preparing for the duke, and the charge in other particulars appeared already to amount to double the ſum that was firſt computed: they concluded, that a leſs ſum than two millions and a half (which is five and twenty hundred thouſand pounds ſterling) ought not to be propoſed, and being once propoſed, ought to be inſiſted on, and purſued without conſenting to any diminution; for no body could conceive that it would do more, than maintain the war one year, which the parliament could not refuſe to provide for in the beginning; and there being already ſo much, in truth, of it expended in the preparations and expedition the duke had made in November, when he went to ſea upon the fame of the Dutch fleet's intention to convoy the Guiney ſhips through the channel. There was not a man in the company, who did not heartily wiſh, that that ſum or a greater might be propoſed and granted; but they all, though they agreed in few other things, proteſted, that they could not adviſe ſo prodigious a ſum ſhould be as much as named, and that they did not know any one man, ſince it could not be thought fit, that any man, who had relation to the king's ſervice ſhould move it, who had the courage to attempt it, or would be perſwaded to it. The two lords continued very obſtinate, that a leſs ſum ſhould not be named for the reaſons they had given, which the other confeſſed to be juſt, and they acknowledged too that the propoſition ought not to be made by any man, who related to the court, or was thought to be in any grace there, that might

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diſpoſe him, nor yet by any gentleman, how well ſoever thought of, who was of a ſmall eſtate, and ſo to pay little of ſo great a ſum, he was ſo liberal to give. They therefore deſired them ſome of thoſe members, who were honeſt worthy men, and looked upon as lovers of their country, and of great fortunes, unſuſpected to have any deſigns at court, and if they were not enough acquainted with them, the lords would find ſome way by themſelves or others, to move them to it; whereupon they named five or ſix perſons very well known, of whom the houſe had a very good eſteem, but without any hope that either of them would be prevailed with to undertake it. The lords ſaid, they would try what might be done, and give them notice the next day, that if it were poſſible, it might be the buſineſs of the following day.

The chancellor and the treaſurer choſe three Norfolk gentlemen of thoſe who had been named, becauſe they were good friends and grateful to each other, and deſired them the next day that they might confer together; they told them, they knew well the ſtate of affairs, the parliament had engaged the king in a war, that could not be carried on without a vaſt expence, and therefore, if at the entrance into it, there ſhould be a ſmall or ordinary ſupply given, it would blaſt all their hopes, and ſtartle all other princes from joining, with whom the Dutch were not in favour, and would be inclined to the king, if they ſaw ſuch a proviſion for the war, as would be ſufficient to continue it for ſome time, and therefore they deſired to confer with them, who, upon all occaſions, manifeſted good affections to the king, and whoſe advice had a great influence upon the houſe, upon the whole matter, how it might be conducted. They all conſented to what had been ſaid, and promiſed their own con-

concurrence and utmoſt endeavours to compaſs what the king ſhould deſire. The lords ſaid, they promiſed themſelves more from them, and that they would not only concur, but propoſe what ſhould be neceſſary to be granted, and thereupon they enlarged upon the charge, which was already in view, and upon what was to be expected; and concluded, that two millions and a half was neceſſary to be inſiſted on, and deſired that when the debate ſhould be entered upon, which they hoped might be the next day, one of them would propoſe this ſum, and the other would ſecond it. They looked long one upon another, as if they were ſurpriſed with the ſum; at laſt, one of them ſaid, that the reaſons were unanſwerable for a liberal ſupply, yet that he did not expect that ſo prodigious a ſum, which he believed had never yet been mentioned in parliament to be granted at one time, would be propoſed; however, he did not think it too much, and that he would do the beſt he could to anſwer any objections which ſhould be made againſt it, as he doubted many would, but he confeſſed he durſt not propoſe it: another was of the ſame mind, and with many good profeſſions deſired to be excuſed as to the firſt propoſing it. The third, who was Sir Robert Paſton, a perſon of a much greater eſtate than both the others, who had yet very good fortunes, and a gentleman of a very antient extraction by his father, and his mother was daughter to the earl of Lindſay, declared very frankly, that he was ſatisfied in his conſcience that it would be very good for the kingdom, as well as for the king, that ſuch a ſum ſhould be granted; and therefore if they thought him fit to do it, he would propoſe it the next morning, let other men think what they would of him for it. The lords gave him the thanks they ought to do, and ſaid what was neceſſary to confirm him, and to thank the

other gentlemen for their promiſe to ſecond him, and gave notice to the reſt of the reſolution, that they might call for the debate the next day, which was entered into with a general chearfulneſs, every man acknowledging the neceſſity, and the engagement of the houſe; but no man adventuring to name the proportion that ſhould be given. When the houſe was in a deep ſilence, expecting that motion, Sir Robert Paſton, who was no frequent ſpeaker, but delivered what he had a mind to ſay very clearly, ſtood up, mentioned ſhortly the obligation, the charge of the war, and that the preſent ſupply ought to be ſuch, as might as well terrify the enemy, as aſſiſt the king; and therefore he propoſed that they might give his majeſty two millions and a half, which would amount to five and twenty hundred thouſand pounds. The ſilence of the houſe was not broken, they ſate as in amazement, until a gentleman, who was believed to wiſh well to the king, without taking notice of what had been propoſed, ſtood up and moved, that they might give the king a much leſs proportion; but then the two others, who had promiſed to ſecond, renewed the motion one after the other, which ſeemed to be entertained with the conſent of many, and was contradicted by none; ſo that after a ſhort pauſe, no man, who had relation to the court, ſpeaking a word, the ſpeaker put it to the queſtion, whether they would give the king five and twenty hundred thouſand pounds, for the carrying on the war againſt the Dutch, and the affirmative made a good ſound, and very few gave their negative aloud, and it was notorious very many ſate ſilent; ſo the vote was preſently drawn into an order, and the houſe reſolved the next day to be in a committee, to agree upon the way that ſhould be taken for the raiſing this vaſt ſum, the proportion whereof could no more be brought into debate. This brave vote gave the king the

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firſt liking of the war, it was above what he had expected or indeed wiſhed to be propoſed, and they, who had been at the firſt conference, delivered the reſolution of the two lords as impoſſible to be compaſſed, not without inſinuation, as if it were affected only to indiſpoſe the houſe to the war; yet they did not think fit to vary from the proportion, till they ſaw the ſucceſs of the propoſition, which the lords were engaged to procure a fit perſon to make. When they found the concluſion to be ſuch as could be wiſhed, they commended the council, and fell into another extreme, that in the thing itſelf and in the conſequence did very much harm, which ſhall be next mentioned, after I have ſaid, that there appeared great joy and exaltation of ſpirit upon this vote, and not more in the court than upon the Exchange, the merchants generally being unſkilfully inclined to that war, above what their true intereſt could invite them to, as in a ſhort time afterwards they had cauſe to confeſs. The king ſent to the lord-mayor to call a common-council, and commanded the chancellor, treaſurer, and other lords of his council to go thither, who, upon the credit of this vote of the houſe of Commons, for this noble ſupply, prevailed with the city preſently to furniſh the king with the loan of two hundred thouſand pounds, which being within few days paid into the hands of the treaſurer of the navy, all preparations for the fleet and of what elſe was neceſſary for the expedition, were provided with marvellous alacrity: and the parliament made what haſte was poſſible to diſpatch the bill, by which the great preſent might be collected from the people.

It hath been ſaid before, that in moſt vacant places upon the death of any members, ways were found out to procure ſome of the king's ſervants elected in their places; ſo that his majeſty had many voices there at his devotion, which

did not advance his ſervice. Theſe men confidently run out of the houſe, ſtill to inform the king of what was doing, commended this man, and diſcommended another, who deſerved better, and would many times, when his majeſty ſpake well of any man, aſk his majeſty if he would give him leave to let that perſon know how gracious his majeſty was to him, or to bring him to kiſs his hand, to which he commonly conſenting, every one of his ſervants delivered ſome meſſage from him to a parliament man, invited him to court as if the king would be willing to ſee him, and by this means the rooms at court, where the king was, were always full of the members of the houſe of commons this man brought to kiſs his hand; and the king induced to confer with that man, and to thank him for his affection, which never could conclude without ſome general expreſſion of grace or promiſe, which the poor gentleman always interpreted to his own advantage, and expecting ſome fruit from it, that it could never yield, all which being contrary to all former order did the king no good, and rendered thoſe unable to do him ſervice, who were inclined to it. The new ſecretary and Sir Charles Berkeley, who by this time was entered very far into the king's favour and his confidence, were the chief, and by their places had acceſs to him in all places and hours, and they much diſliked the officiouſneſs of the others, as if they preſumed to invade their province: they thought it but their due that the king ſhould take his meaſures of the houſe of commons by no other report but theirs, nor diſpenſe his graces through any other conduit: they took this occaſion to careſs Sir Robert Paſton, who was a ſtranger to them, and to magnify the ſervice he had done the king, and the great ſenſe the king had of it, and did long to give him his own thanks: they invited him to

to come to the court, and Sir Charles Berkeley told him, as from the king, that his majeſty reſolved to make him a baron, and by theſe daily courtſhips and importunities the gentleman, who was well ſatisfied with what he had done, and never propoſed any advantage to himſelf from it, was amuſed, and thought he was not to refuſe any honour the king thought him worthy of, nor to neglect thoſe graces which were offered to him by perſons of their intereſt; yet he made not haſte to go to the court, believing that it might make him leſs capable of ſerving the king, and that any favour his majeſty ſhould do him, would be more ſeaſonable hereafter than at preſent, leaſt he might be thought to have made that motion in the houſe upon promiſe of the other reward: yet, after continued invitations, he went thither, and thoſe gentlemen preſented him to the king, who ſpake very graciouſly to him, told him he had done him great ſervice, which he would never forget, and many other princely expreſſions, and that he ſhould be glad to ſee him often, but no particular to that purpoſe which had been mentioned to him. When he went next, he found his majeſty's countenance the ſame; but they who had courted and amuſed him ſo much, grew every day more dry and reſerved towards him, of which he complained to a friend of his, who he knew had intereſt in the chancellor, and deſired him to acquaint him with all that had paſſed, who had not till then heard that he had been at court, and when he was informed of the whole relation, was very much troubled, well knowing that how acceptable ſoever thoſe kind of courtſhips were for few days, they were attended with many inconveniences, when the end was not correſpondent with the beginning. He knew well the reſolution the king had taken to create no more noblemen, the number whereof

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already too much exceeded; however, he was ſorry that a perſon of that quality and merit ſhould be expoſed to any indignity for having endeavoured in ſuch a conjuncture to do his majeſty ſignal ſervice and ſucceeded ſo well; and ſpake with the king at large upon it, and gave his majeſty a full account of the modeſty and temper of the gentleman, of his quality and intereſt, and what had been ſaid and promiſed to him. The king was troubled, owned all that he had ſaid himſelf to him, as being very hearty, and that he would never forget the ſervice he had done, but requite it upon any opportunity; but proteſted, that he had never made any ſuch promiſe, nor given Sir Charles Berkeley any authority to mention any ſuch thing to him, which would prove very inconvenient, and therefore wiſhed that his friend would divert him from proſecuting ſuch a pretence, which he knew to be contrary to his reſolution. The chancellor knew not what to ſay, but truly advertiſed his friend of all the king had ſaid, who again informed Sir Robert Paſton, who thought himſelf very hardly treated, and went to Sir Charles Berkeley, who had not the ſame open arms, yet aſſured him, that he had ſaid nothing to him, but by the king's direction, which he muſt aver, that he did not uſe to interpoſe or move the king in any of his affairs; but if he would deſire the chancellor to take notice of it, who he knew had a great affection for him, and upon whoſe deſire he had performed that great ſervice: he was confident it would be attended with the ſucceſs he wiſhed, to which he would contribute all his endeavours, intimating, that if he had not what he deſired, he might impute it to the chancellor, upon which Sir Robert, who was well aſſured of the chancellor's kindneſs, concluded, that his court friends

had

had deluded him, or expected money which he would not give, and ſo the matter ended with prejudice to the king.

Notwithſtanding theſe and the like very inconvenient activities, which loſt more friends, than were gotten by them, the noiſe of this ſtupendious ſupply given to the king at one time made good impreſſions upon all who had any affections for the king, and was wondered at in thoſe places, where money was moſt plenty. In Holland it wrought even to conſternation, and the common people cried aloud for peace, and the ſtates pretended to have great hope, as well as deſire of it, and ſent their embaſſador, who remained ſtill in England, new orders to ſollicit it. In the mean time, the king neglected not to apply what endeavours he could uſe to diſpoſe his allies to all ſuch parts as their own intereſt might reaſonably invite them to. From France he expected only neutrality, by reaſon he knew he had renewed the alliance with the ſtates; but never ſuſpected that it was in ſuch a manner, as would hinder the neutrality. Spain could do little good or harm, nor durſt it to engage againſt Holland; yet all was done that was neceſſary towards a good correſpondence with it. The two northern kings would find themſelves concerned, at leaſt, to wiſh better to one ſide than to the other, and had both been ſo diſobliged by the Dutch, that had it not been for the irreconcileable jealouſy they had of each other, they might have been united to the intereſt of England; but Denmark had in the late war given what they could not keep, nor recover, and yet could hardly be without; and Sweden looked with too much contempt upon the weakneſs and inactivity of their neighbour to give back any thing they had got, and this reſtrained them both from provoking an enemy that might give ſtrength to the other; yet Denmark had the year before, by Hannibal

Zeſted,

Zeſted, who went embaſſador into France, and made England his way, made many complaints to the king of the oppreſſion the crown of Denmark underwent by the Dutch, and the reſolution it had to ſhake off that yoke, as ſoon as an opportunity ſhould be offered, made a requeſt to the king that he would endeavour to make the alliance ſo faſt between Denmark and Sweden, that the jealouſy of each other might hinder neither of them from doing any thing that was for their own intereſt, without prejudice to the other, and when the difficulty was alledged, in regard that Sweden would never be perſwaded to part with Elſenore and thoſe other places which had been given up in the late treaty, Hannibal Zeſted conſented that what was done in that treaty ſhould be again confirmed, and ſaid, his maſter was willing and deſirous that the king of England ſhould undertake and be caution for the obſervation of this treaty, implying, that if this were done, and thereby the fears of any further attempt from Sweden were extinguiſhed, Denmark would not be long without redeeming itſelf from the vexation which they endured from Holland, which upon former neceſſities and ill bargains upon the matter, had an exemption from paying all duties upon their own great trade through the Sound, as much to the prejudice of all other princes, as of the poor crown of Denmark. This having paſſed ſo lately from a miniſter of that crown, the king thought it a good time to endeavour to do that office between the two crowns, and thereby to unite them both to the king in this conjunction againſt the Dutch, at leaſt, that they might both remain good friends to his majeſty and ſupply him with all thoſe proviſions, without which his navy could not be ſupported, and as far as was poſſible reſtrain the Dutch from thoſe ſupplies, by making ſuch large contracts

with

with the Engliſh, that there would not be enough left for the other. Upon this ground he ſent Mr. Harry Coventry, of his bedchamber, to the Swede, whoſe friendſhip he much more valued, as more able to aſſiſt him, and upon whoſe he could more firmly depend; and to Denmark he ſent to Sir Gilbert Talbot, who was acceptable to that crown by his having performed many offices of reſpect to the prince of Denmark, when he had been incognito in England, and waited upon him to ſeveral parts of the kingdom, which he had a mind to ſee, and ſo cauſed him to be entertained in ſeveral gentlemens houſes in his journey, of which the prince ſeemed very ſenſible when he departed. That which was expected from that negociation, except the confidence could be created between the two crowns, was only to preſerve Denmark a friend, that he might not favour the Dutch, and might recall all his ſubjects out of their ſervice, and that we might have the ſame freedom of trade, and the ſecurity of his ports for our men of war.

Whilſt the king took this care for the advancement of his affairs abroad, there was an advantage offered him, that looked as if it came from heaven. There came one day a gentleman, who looked rather like a carter, who ſpoke ill Engliſh, and deſired that he might have a private audience of the chancellor, who preſently ſent for him, and in a ſhort time knew him to be a Benedictine monk, who had been ſometimes with him at Cologne, and belonged to the Engliſh abbey, at Lanſpring, in Weſtphalia, where a very reverend perſon of the family of Gaſcoigne, in Yorkſhire, was abbot, with whom the chancellor had much acquaintance, and eſteemed him very much; and he had during the time the king ſtaid in Cologne, ſent this monk ſeveral times thither, who was likewiſe a gentleman, but by living long

in Germany, had almoſt forgot the language as well as manners of his own country: his buſineſs now was to deliver him a letter (whereof he knew little of the contents) from the biſhop of Munſter, upon the edge of whoſe dominions that Engliſh abbey was ſeated, which had likewiſe a territory that extended to the principality of the other, and received much favour and protection from the other, who deſired the abbot to give him an honeſt man that would carry a letter from him to the court of England, upon which this monk was deputed, the rather becauſe he was known to the chancellor. The matter of the letter was no more than that if the war againſt Holland was to be reſolutely proſecuted by the king of England, he (the biſhop) conceived, that a conjunction with thoſe allies who could infeſt the Dutch by land, as his majeſty would do by ſea, might not be unacceptable to his majeſty, and in that caſe upon the anſwer to this letter, he would ſend a fit perſon to make ſome propoſitions to the king, and to treat with him. The inſtructions the monk had, were to make all poſſible haſte back, and that as ſoon as he returned on that ſide the ſea, he ſhould ſend the anſwer he had received, by the poſt ſo directed as was appointed, and then that himſelf ſhould ſtay at Bruſſels, till he received further orders. The chancellor quickly informed the king of this diſpatch, to whom the monk was likewiſe known, and his majeſty immediately aſſembled thoſe lords with whom he conſulted in the moſt ſecret caſes. Every body knew ſo much of the biſhop of Munſter, that he was a warlike prince, having had command in armies, before he dedicated himſelf to the church, and that he had a great animoſity againſt Holland, which had diſobliged him in the higheſt point, by encouraging his ſubjects to rebel againſt him, and thoſe of his city of Munſter

ſter to ſhut their gate againſt him, and when he endeavoured to reduce them by force, and to that purpoſe had beſieged them with his army, the Dutch ſent an army to relieve it, and declared, that they would protect that city, and by this means, and by the mediation of the neighbour princes, who had no mind that the peace of the country ſhould be diſturbed by ſuch an incurſion, the biſhop was hindered from taking that vengeance upon his rebel ſubjects which he intended, and compelled to accept of ſuch conditions, as did not pleaſe him; and all this was but two years before, and boiled ſtill in his breaſt, that was naturally very hot; but he was a poor prince, unable to give any diſturbance to the united provinces, whoſe dominions extended within a day's march of his. However, every man was of opinion, that the propoſition ought to be very kindly received, and the biſhop invited to ſend his agent, and to that purpoſe the chancellor wrote to him, and the monk was diſpatched the next day: and having obſerved his orders in ſending away the anſwer, he was very few days at Bruſſels, when a ſervant of the biſhop's arrived with orders that the monk ſhould accompany him back into England, and ſo they both arrived in London in leſs time than could be expected. The gentleman, who came from the biſhop was a very proper man, well bred, a baron of that country, but a ſubject to the biſhop: he brought with him a letter of credit from the biſhop to the king, and full authority to treat and conclude according to his inſtructions, which he likewiſe preſented to his majeſty. He brought likewiſe a letter to the chancellor from the elector of Mentz, in which he recommended to him the perſon whom the biſhop of Munſter ſhould ſend, and declared that he believed the biſhop of Munſter would be able to perform whatſoever he ſhould undertake,

dertake, which letter was a very great encouragement to the king; for his majeſty knew the elector of Mentz very well, to be a very wiſe prince, and notoriouſly his friend, and that he would not ſay ſo much of the ability of the biſhop to perform, except he knew particularly his deſign, and what he would undertake to do. The baron's inſtructions were to propoſe that his majeſty would cauſe one hundred thouſand pounds to be immediately paid by bills of exchange at Hamburgh, or Cologne, or Francfort, to ſuch perſons as the biſhop ſhould appoint to receive it, and ſhould promiſe to pay fifty thouſand pounds by the month in the ſame places, for three months term: afterwards he hoped the army would provide for its own ſupport. This being undertaken on his majeſty's part, the biſhop would be engaged within one month after the firſt bills of exchange, for the one hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be delivered into the hands of his agent, the baron, that he would be in the dominions of the States-General, with an army of ſixteen thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, with which he was very confident he ſhould within few days be poſſeſſed of Arnheim, and ſhortly after of Utrecht; and if the king's fleet came before Amſterdam, that army of the biſhop ſhould march to what quarter or place his majeſty ſhould direct. The baron was aſked, how it could be poſſible for the biſhop, though a gallant prince, and very active, to draw together ſuch an army in ſo ſhort a time, out of his ſmall province, and how he was ſure that his neighbours, who, two years before had compelled him to make ſo diſadvantageous a peace with the Dutch, would not again uſe the ſame violent importunity to obſtruct his proceedings. To which he anſwered, that the biſhop would never undertake to bring ſuch an army together in ſo ſhort a time, in which they could not be levied; but

that he knows they are already levied, and upon an assurance of money can be brought together in the short time proposed; for the other, the interposition of his neighbours he had not then when they prevailed, half that army, which he was sure he should now have: besides, those neighbours were now as much incensed against the Dutch as his master was, and would all engage with him against them; and that many of the army, that is designed, were at present quartered in their dominions; and that the bishop intended not to march in his own private capacity, but as general of the empire, for which the elector of Mentz had undertaken to procure him a commission. He was demanded how his master stood with France, and whether he did not fear, that he would either prevent the enterprize by mediation, or disappoint it by sending aid to Holland. He answered, his master was confident France would not do him any harm; that he had sent an agent, from whom he should be sure to receive letters by every post: and within a few days after, he shewed a letter that he had received from that agent, in which he said, that Monsieur de Leon bad him assure the bishop, that his christian majesty would do nothing to his prejudice. This being the state of that affair, the king considered what he was to do; the propositions made by the bishop were such as it was not possible for him to comply with; but then it was presumed by every body, that very much would be abated of the money that was demanded; for it was not an auxiliary army that was to be raised for the king's service, whose conquests were to be applied to his benefit, but an army raised to revenge the injuries which himself had received, and what he should get must be to his own account, and his majesty's hostility at sea would as much facilitate his enterprize at land, as the marching of

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his army might probably disturb and distract their preparations for the sea: yet, it could not be expected that the bishop could draw his army together (and the attempt was not to be made with less force) without a good supply of money, nor keep it together without pay. The advantage, that would with God's blessing attend this conjunction, spread itself to a very large prospect; that the people generally in the provinces were very unsatisfied with this war, was a thing notorious, that the province of Holland, which begun it, and was entirely governed by De Wit, did even compel the other provinces to concur with them, partly upon hope that a further progress would be prevented by treaty, or that a peace would follow upon the first engagement; but when they should see an army of twenty thousand men, which they suspected not, to invade their country at land, and in that part where they were most secure, and from whence so much of their necessary provisions were daily brought, they must be in great consternation, and draw all their land army together, which they had not done in near twenty years, and could not be done to any effect without vast charge, which would put the people into a loud distraction. Finally, there was great reason to cherish the design, and therefore the king resolved by a unanimous advice, to undertake any thing towards it, that could be in his power to perform. There was one difficulty occurred that had not been thought of, nor so much as apprehended by the baron, which was the return of the money, whatsoever should be assigned to that service; for of the three places proposed by him, besides the secresy that was requisite, all the trade of London could not assign one thousand pounds in the month to be paid upon Cologne and Francfort, nor could Hamburgh itself be charged with twenty

thousand

thouſand pounds in three months time, which, when the agent knew, he ſeemed amazed and ſaid, they had believed that it had been as eaſy to have tranſmitted money to thoſe three towns, as it was for them to receive it from thence. In concluſion, the king gave his anſwer in writing, what ſum of money he would cauſe to be paid at once for the firſt advance, that the biſhop might begin his march, and what he would afterwards cauſe to be paid by the month, which being leſs than the baron's inſtructions would admit him to accept, he ſent an expreſs with it to the biſhop, and till his return, he deſired the king would appoint ſome perſon of experience to confer with him, and they might together inform themſelves of the beſt expedients to return money into Germany, ſince his majeſty hitherto had only undertaken to pay his aſſignations in London: what ſucceſs this treaty had afterwards will be related in its place. Theſe advantages from abroad being in this manner deliberated and deſigned, it may be very ſeaſonable to look back and conſider what preparations were made at home towards the carrying on this war, for which the parliament had provided ſo bountifully; and if ordinary prudence had been applied to the managery, if any order and method had been conſulted and ſteadily purſued for the conducting the whole, the ſucceſs would have been anſwerable, and, at leaſt, any inconvenience from the ſudden want of money would have been prevented; but whoever was at any diſtance in that time, when theſe tranſactions were in agitation, as there are yet many worthy men, who were, or ſhall be able to procure a ſincere information of the occurrences of that time, will be obliged to confeſs that they, who contrived the war, had the entire conducting it, and were the ſole cauſe of all the ill effects of it, which cannot be ſet down par-

particularly without wounding thoſe, who were by their confidence in ill inſtruments made acceſſary to thoſe miſchiefs, in which themſelves ſuffered moſt; nor is it the end of this true relation to fix a brand upon the memory of thoſe who deſerve it from the publick, and from very many worthy men, but is to ſerve only for a memorial to caſt my own eyes upon, when I cannot but reflect upon thoſe proceedings, and by my conſent ſhall never come into any hands but theirs, who, for their own ſakes, will take care to preſerve it from any publick view or peruſal. It cannot be denied, and may very truly be averred, that from the hour of the king's return, and being poſſeſſed of the entire government, the naval affairs were never put into any order, that province being committed to the duke as lord high-admiral of England, was ſo entirely engroſſed by his ſervants, in truth, by Mr. Coventry, who was newly made his ſecretary, and who made uſe of his other ſervants, who were better known to him, to infuſe into his highneſs the opinion, that whoever preſumed to meddle in any thing that related to the navy or the admiralty, invaded his juriſdiction, and would leſſen him in the eyes of the people, and that he ought to be jealous of ſuch men, as of thoſe who would undermine his greatneſs, and that as he was ſuperior to all men by being the king's brother, ſo being high-admiral he was to render an account to none, but to the king, nor ſuffer any body elſe to interpoſe in any thing relating to it; whereas, in truth, there is no officer of the crown more ſubject to the council-board, than the admiral of England, who is to give an account of all his actions, and of every branch of his office conſtantly to the board, and to receive their orders; nor hath he the nomination of the captains of the ſhips, till upon the preſentation of their names he re-

ceives

ceives their approbation, which is never denied; nor was there any counſellor, who had ever ſate at the board in the laſt king's time, to whom this was not as much known, as any order of the table; but there was no retrieving this authority, not only from the influence Mr. Coventry, and they of the family who adhered to him, had upon the duke, but from the king's own inclination, who thought that thoſe officers, who immediately depended upon himſelf, and only upon himſelf, were more at his devotion, than they who were obliged to give an aocount to any other ſuperior; and from the time that he came firſt in to France, he had not been accuſtomed to any diſcourſe more, than to the undervaluing the privy-council, as if it ſhadowed the king too much, and uſurped too much of his authority, and too often ſuperceded his own commands: and the queen, his mother, had upon theſe diſcourſes always ſome inſtances of the authority which in ſuch a caſe the council had aſſumed againſt the king's judgment, the exception to which, according to the relation, which no body could queſtion, ſeemed to be very reaſonable. This kind of diſcourſe being the ſubject of every day, made ſo great impreſſion, that it could never be defaced, and made the election an nomination of counſellors leſs conſidered, ſince they were to be no more adviſed with afterwards than before. Another argument that uſed to be as frequently inſiſted upon by the queen, and with more paſſion and indignation, was of the little reſpect and reverence that by the law or cuſtom of England was paid to the younger ſons of the crown; and though there was no body preſent in thoſe converſations, who knew any thing of the law or cuſtom in thoſe caſes: yet, all that was ſaid, was taken as granted, and not only the duke but the king himſelf had a manifeſt prejudice to the nation in that

part of good manners, and it was eaſily agreed that the model of France was in thoſe and other caſes much more preferable, and which was afterwards obſerved in too many. This being then the ſtate and temper of the royal family, when the king returned, which then conſiſted of the duke of Glouceſter, and two princeſſes more than it now hath, the very next morning after the fleet came to Skiveling, the duke went on board and took poſſeſſion of it as lord high-admiral, and ſo his ſecretary provided new commiſſions for all the officers who were in preſent command, for which it is probable they all paid very liberally; for with him the cuſtom begun to receive five pounds for every warrant ſigned by the duke, and for which no ſecretary to any lord admiral formerly had ever received above twenty ſhillings. Mr. Coventry, who was utterly unacquainted with all the rules and cuſtoms of the ſea, and knew none of the officers, but was much courted by all, as the ſecretary to the admiral always is, made choice of captain Penn, whom the king knighted as ſoon as he came on board, who from a common man had grown up under Cromwell to the higheſt command, and was in great favour with him, till he failed in the action of St. Domingo, when he went admiral at ſea, as Venables was general at land, for which they were both impriſoned in the tower by Cromwell, nor ever employed by him afterwards; but upon his death he had command again at ſea, as he had at this time under Montagu, when he came to attend the king. With this man Mr. Coventry made a faſt friendſhip, and was guided by him in all things. All the officers, which belonged to the ſhips, to the navy, to the yards, to the whole admiralty (except the three ſuperior officers, which are not in the diſpoſal of the admiral) were now void, and to be ſupplied by the duke, that is, by Mr. Co-

Coventry, who, by the advice of Sir William Penn, who was ſolely truſted by him in the brocage, conferred them upon thoſe (without obſerving any other rule) who would give moſt money, nor conſidering any honeſt ſeaman, who had continued in the king's ſervice, or ſuffered long impriſonment for him; and becauſe an incredible ſum of money was and would riſe this way, ſome principal officers in the yards, as the maſter ſmith and others, and the keepers of the ſtores, yielding ſeven, eight hundred, or a thouſand pounds, he had the ſkill to move the duke to beſtow ſuch money as would ariſe upon ſuch a place upon Sir Charles Berkeley, for another to another, and for ſome to be divided between two or three, by which means the whole family was obliged and retained to juſtify him, and the duke himſelf looked upon it as a generoſity in Mr. Coventry, to accommodate his fellow-ſervants with what he might have aſked or kept for himſelf; but it was the beſt huſbandry he could have uſed; for by this means all mens mouths were ſtopped and all clamour ſecured, whilſt the leſſer ſums for a multitude of offices of all kinds were reſerved to himſelf, and which in the eſtimation of thoſe who were at no great diſtance, amounted to a very great ſum, and more than any officer under the king could poſſibly get by all the perquiſites of his place in many years. By this means the whole navy and ſhips were filled with the ſame men who had enjoyed the ſame places and offices under Cromwell, and thereby were the better able to pay well for them, whereof many of the moſt infamous perſons, which that time took notice of, were now become the king's officers, to the great ſcandal of their honeſt neighbours, who obſerved that they retained the ſame manners and affections, and uſed the ſame diſcourſes they had formerly done.

Beſides many other irreparable inconveniences and miſchiefs which reſulted from this corruption and choice, one grew quickly viſible and notorious in the ſtealing and embezzling all manner of things out of the ſhips, even when they were in ſervice; but when they returned from any voyages, when incredible proportions of powder, match, cordage, ſails, anchors, and all other things, inſtead of being reſtored to the ſeveral proper offices which were to receive them, were embezzled and ſold, and very often ſold to the king himſelf for the ſetting out other ſhips, and for repleniſhing his ſtores; and when this was diſcovered (as many times it was) and the criminal perſon apprehended, it was alledged by him, as a defence or excuſe, that he had paid ſo dear for his place, that he could not maintain himſelf and his family without practiſing ſuch ſhifts, and none of thoſe fellows were ever brought to exemplary juſtice, and moſt of them were reſtored to their employments. The three ſuperior officers of the navy were poſſeſſed of their offices by patents under the great ſeal of England before the king's return; and they are the natural eſtabliſhed council of the lord high-admiral, and are to attend him, when he requires it, and always uſed of courſe to be with him one certain day in a week, to render him an account of all the ſtate of the office, and to receive his orders, and to give their advice: and now becauſe thoſe three depended not enough upon him, but eſpecially out of animoſity againſt Sir George Carteret, who, beſides being treaſurer of the navy, was vice-chamberlain of the king's houſhold, and ſo a privy-counſellor, Mr. Coventry propoſed to the duke, that in regard of the multiplicity of buſineſs in the navy, much more than in former times, and the ſetting out greater fleets than had been accuſtomed in that age, when thoſe officers

ficers, and that model for the government of the navy had been eſtabliſhed, his royal highneſs would propoſe to the king to make an addition by commiſſioners of ſome other perſons always to ſit with the other officers with equal authority, and to ſign all bills with them; which was a thing never heard of before, and is, in truth, a leſſening of the power of the admiral. It is very true, there have frequently been commiſſioners for the navy, but it hath been in the turn of the admiral, and to perform his office; but in the time of an admiral commiſſioners have not been heard of. One principal end in this was, to draw from the treaſurer of the navy, (whoſe office Mr. Coventry thought too great, and had implaceble animoſity againſt him from the firſt hour after he had made his friendſhip with Penn) out of his fees, which, though no greater than were granted by his patent, and had been always enjoyed by his predeceſſors, were indeed greater than had uſed to be in times of peace, when much leſs money paſſed through his hands, what ſhould be enough to pay thoſe commiſſioners; for it was not reaſonable they ſhould ſerve for nothing, nor that they ſhould be upon the king's charge, ſince the treaſurer's perquiſites might be enough for all. The duke liked the propoſition well, and without conferring with any body elſe upon it, propoſed it to the king at the council-board, where no body thought fit to examine or debate what the duke propoſed; and the king approved it, and ordered that the commiſſioners ſhould receive each five hundred pounds by the year: but finding afterwards that the treaſurer of the navy's fees were granted to him under the great ſeal, his majeſty did not think it juſt to take it from him, but would bear it himſelf, and appointed the treaſurer to pay and paſs thoſe penſions in his account. The commiſſioners named and commended

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by the duke to the king, were the lord Berkeley, Sir John Lawſon, Sir William Penn, and Sir George Aſkewe, the three moſt eminent ſea-officers under Cromwell; but it muſt not be denied but that they ſerved the king afterwards very faithfully. Theſe the king made his commiſſioners, with a penſion to each of five hundred pounds the year, and in ſome time after added Mr. Coventry to the number, with the ſame penſion; ſo that this firſt reformation in the time of peace coſt the king, one way or other, no leſs than three thouſand pounds yearly, without the leaſt viſible benefit or advantage. The lord Berkeley neither underſtood any thing that related to the office or employment, and therefore very ſeldom was preſent in the execution; but after he had enjoyed the penſion a year or thereabouts, he procured leave to ſell his place, and procured a gentleman, Mr. Thomas Hervey, to give him three thouſand pounds for it; ſo ſoon this temporary commiſſion, which might have expired within a month, got the reputation of an office for life, by the good managery of an officer.

This was the ſtate of the navy, before the war with Holland was reſolved upon: let us in the next place ſee what alterations were made in it, or what other preparations were made, or councils entered upon for the better conduct of this war; and a clear and impartial view or reflection upon what was then ſaid and done, gave diſcerning men an unhappy preſage of what would follow. There was no diſcourſe now in the court after this royal ſubſidy of five and twenty hundred thouſand pounds was granted, but of giving the law to the whole trade of Chriſtendom, of making all ſhips which paſs by, or through the narrow ſeas, to pay an impoſition to the king, as all do to the king of Denmark, who paſs by the Sound, and making all who paſs

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near to pay contribution to his majeſty, which muſt concern all the princes of Chriſtendom; and the king and duke were often deſired to diſcountenance and ſuppreſs this impertinent talk, which muſt encreaſe the number of the enemies. Commiſſioners were appointed to reſide in all or the moſt eminent port-towns, for the ſale of all prize goods, and theſe were choſen, for the moſt part, out of thoſe members of the houſe of commons, who were active to advance the king's ſervice, or who promiſed to be ſo, to whom liberal ſalaries were aſſigned. There were then commiſſioners appointed to judge all appeals, which ſhould be made upon and againſt all ſentences given by the judge of the admiralty and his deputies, and theſe were all privy-counſellors, the earl of Lauderdale, the lord Aſhley, the ſecretary of ſtate, who were like to be moſt careful of the king's profit; but then the rules which were preſcribed to judge by, were ſuch as were by no former precedents, and acknowledged to be juſt by the practice of any neighbour nation, and ſuch as would make all ſhips, which traded for Holland, from what kingdom ſoever, lawful prize, which was foreſeen would bring complaints from all places, as it did as ſoon as the war begun. French and Spaniard, and Swede and Dane, were alike treated, whilſt their embaſſadors made loud complaints every day to the king and the council, for the injuſtice and rapine, without remedy, more than references to the admiralty, and then to the lords commiſſioners of appeal, which encreaſed the charge, and raiſed and improved the indignity. Above all the Hans towns of Hamburgh, Lubeck, Bremen, and the reſt (who had large exemptions and privileges by charter, granted by former kings, and now renewed by this) had the worſt luck; for none of them could ever be diſtinguiſhed from the

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Dutch, their ſhips were ſo like, and their language ſo near, that not one of their veſſels were met with from what part of the world ſoever they came, or whither ſoever they were bound, but they were brought, and if the evidence was ſuch, as there could be no colour to retain it, but that they muſt be releaſed, they always carried with them ſad remembrances of the company they had been in. There was one ſure rule to make any ſhip prize, which was, if above three Dutch mariners were aboard it, they need no further proof for the forfeiture, which being no where known could not be prevented, all merchant ſhips, when they are ready for their voyage, taking all ſeamen on board, of what nation ſoever, who are neceſſary for their ſervice; ſo that thoſe Dutchmen who run from their own country to avoid fighting (as very many did, and very many more would have done) and put themſelves on board merchant ſhips of any other country, where they were willingly entertained, made thoſe ſhips lawful prize in which they ſerved, by a rule that no body knew, nor would ſubmit to. It was reſolved, that all poſſible encouragement ſhould be given to privateers, that is, to as many as would take commiſſions from the admiral, to ſet out veſſels of war, as they call them, to take prizes from the enemy, which no articles or obligations can reſtrain from all the villainy they can act, and are a people, how countenanced ſoever or thought neceſſary, that do bring an unavoidable ſcandal, and, it is to be feared, a curſe upon the juſteſt war that was ever made at ſea. A ſail, a ſail is the word with them, friend or foe is the ſame; they poſſeſs all they can maſter, and run with it to any obſcure place, where they can ſell it, which retreats are never wanting, and never attend the ceremony of an adjudication. Beſides the horrible ſcandal and clamour that this claſs of

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men brought upon the king and the whole government for defect of juſtice, the prejudice which reſulted from thence to the publick, and to the carrying on the ſervice, is unſpeakable; all ſeamen run to them, and though the king now aſſigned an ample ſhare of all prizes taken by his own ſhips to the ſeamen, over and above their wages, yet there was great difference between the condition of the one and the other. In the king's fleet they might gain well, but they were ſure of blows, nothing could be got there without fighting: with the privateers there was rarely fighting, they took all who could make little reſiſtance, and fled from all who were too ſtrong for them, and ſo thoſe fellows were always well manned, when the king's ſhips were compelled to ſtay many days for want of men, who were raiſed by preſſing, and with great difficulty, and whoever ſpake againſt thoſe lewd people, upon any caſe whatſoever, was thought to have no regard for the duke's profit, nor to deſire to weaken the enemy.

In all former wars at ſea, as there was great care taken to appoint commiſſioners for the ſale of all prize goods, who underſtood the value of thoſe commodities they had to ſell, yet were compelled to ſell better bargains than are uſually got in publick markets; ſo there was all ſtrictneſs uſed in bringing all receivers to as punctual an account, as any other of the king's receivers are bound to make, and to compel them to pay in all the money they receive into the Exchequer, that it might be iſſued out to the treaſurer of the navy, or to other offices for the expence of the war; and it had been a great argument in the firſt conſultations upon this war, that it would ſupport itſelf, and that, after one good fleet ſhould be ſet out once to beat the Dutch, (for that was never thought worthy of a doubt) the prizes,

which would every day after be taken, would plentifully do all the reſt, beſides the great ſum that the Dutch would give to purchaſe their peace, and the yearly rent they would give for the liberty of fiſhing, with all which it was not thought fit to allow them to keep above ſuch a number of ſhips of war, limitted to ſo many tons, and to ſo many guns, with many particulars of that nature, which were carefully digeſted by thoſe, who promoted the war; but now after this ſupply given by the parliament, there was no more danger of want of money, and many diſcourſes there were, that the prize-money might be better diſpoſed in re-building the king's houſes, and many other good uſes which would occur; and the king forbore to ſpeak any more of appointing receivers and treaſurers for that purpoſe, when all or moſt other officers, who were judged neceſſary for the ſervice, were already named; and the lord treaſurer, who by his office ſhould have the recommendation of thoſe offices to the king, had a liſt of men, who, for the reputation and experience they had, were in his judgment worthy to be truſted, to be preſented to the king, when he ſhould enter upon that ſubject. But one evening a ſervant of the lord Aſhley came to the chancellor with a bill ſigned, and deſired, in his maſter's name, that it might be ſealed that night. The bill was to make and conſtitute the lord Aſhley, treaſurer of all the money that ſhould be raiſed upon the ſale of all prizes, which were or ſhould be taken in this preſent war, with power to make all ſuch officers as ſhould be neceſſary for the ſervice, and that he ſhould account for all monies ſo received to the king himſelf and to no other perſon whatſoever, and pay and iſſue out all thoſe monies which he ſhould receive in ſuch manner as his majeſty ſhould appoint by warrant under his ſign manual, and by no other

warrant;

warrant; and that he ſhould be free and exempt from accompting into the Exchequer. When the chancellor had ſeen the contents, he bade the meſſenger tell his lord, that he would ſpeak with the king before he would ſeal that grant, and that he deſired much to ſpeak with himſelf. The next morning he waited upon the king, and informed him of the bill, that was brought to him, and doubted that he had been ſurprized, that it was not only ſuch an original, as was without any precedent, but in itſelf, in many particulars, deſtructive to his ſervice, and to the right of other men: that all receivers of any part of his revenue were accountable in the Exchequer, and could receive their diſcharge in no other place; and that if ſo great a receipt as this was already (for the fleet of wine and other ſhips already ſeized were, by a general computation, valued at one hundred thouſand pounds) and as it evidently would be, ſhould paſs without the moſt formal account, his majeſty might be abominably cozened, nor could it any other way be prevented; and in the next place, that this grant was not only derogatory to the lord treaſurer, but did really degrade him, there being another treaſurer made more abſolute than himſelf, and without dependance upon him: and therefore he beſought his majeſty, that he would reconſider the thing itſelf, and hear it debated, at leaſt, that the treaſurer might be firſt heard, without whom it could not be done in juſtice: to which he added, that he would ſpeak with the lord Aſhley himſelf, and tell him, how much he was to blame to affect ſuch a province, which might bring great inconveniences upon his perſon and his eſtate. He quickly found that the king had not been ſurprized in what he had done, which he ſaid was abſolutely in his own power to do, and that it would bring prejudice only to himſelf, which he had

had ſufficiently provided againſt: however, he ſeemed willing to decline any thing that looked like an affront to the treaſurer, and therefore was content that the ſealing it might be ſuſpended, till he had further conſidered. The lord Aſhley came ſhortly to the chancellor, and ſeemed to take it unkindly that his patent was not ſealed. To which he anſwered, that he had ſuſpended the immediate ſealing it for three reaſons, whereof one was, that he might firſt ſpeak with the king, who, he believed, would receive much prejudice by it. Another, that it would not conſiſt with the reſpect he owed to the lord treaſurer, who was much affronted in it, to ſeal it before he was made acquainted with it: and in the laſt place, that he had ſtopped it for his, the lord Aſhley's ſake, and that he believed, he had neither enough conſidered the indignity that was offered to the lord treaſurer, to whom he profeſſed ſo much reſpect, and by whoſe favour and powerful interpoſition he enjoyed the office he held; nor his own true eſtate, in ſubmitting his eſtate to thoſe incumbrances, which ſuch a receipt would inevitably expoſe it to; and that the exemption from making any account but to the king himſelf would deceive him, and as it was an unuſual and unnatural privilege, ſo it would never be allowed in any court of juſtice, which would exact both the account and the payment or lawful diſcharge of what money he ſhould receive; and if he depended upon the exemption he would live to repent it. He anſwered little to the particulars, more than with ſome fullenneſs, that the king had given him the office, and knew beſt what is good for his own ſervice, and that except his majeſty retracted his grant, he would look to enjoy the benefit of it; that he did not deſire to put an affront upon the lord treaſurer, and if there were any expreſſions in his commiſſion which reflected

flected upon him, he was content they ſhould be mended or left out, in all other reſpects he was reſolved to run the hazard. The treaſurer himſelf, though he knew that he was not well uſed, and exceedingly diſdained the behaviour of his nephew, (for the lord Aſhley had married his niece) who he well knew had by new friendſhips cancelled all the obligations to him, would not appear to oppoſe what the king reſolved, but ſate unconcerned, and took no notice of any thing; and ſo within a ſhort time the king ſent a poſitive order to the chancellor to ſeal the commiſſion, which he could no longer refuſe, and did it with the more trouble, becauſe he knew that few men knew the lord Aſhley better than the king himſelf did, or had a worſe opinion of his integrity: but he was now gotten into friendſhips, which were moſt behoveful to him, and which could remove or reconcile all prejudices. He was faſt linked to Sir Harry Bennet and Mr. Coventry, in a league offenſive and defenſive, the ſame friends and the ſame enemies, and had got an entire truſt with the lady, who very well underſtood the benefit ſuch an officer would be to her; nor was it difficult to perſwade the king (who thought himſelf more rich in having one thouſand pounds in his cloſet, than fifty thouſand pounds in his Exchequer) how many conveniences he would find in having ſo much money at his own immediate diſpoſal, without the formality of privy-ſeals, and other mens warrants, and the indecency and miſchief, which would attend a formal account of all his generous donatives and expence, which ſhould be known only to himſelf.

Though the king ſeemed to continue the ſame gracious countenance towards the chancellor, which he had uſed, and frequently came to his houſe, when he was indiſpoſed with the gout, and conſulted all his buſineſs, which he thought

thought of publick importance, with him with equal freedom; yet he himſelf found, and many others obſerved, that he had not the ſame credit and power with him. The nightly meetings had of late made him more the ſubject of the diſcourſe, and ſince the time of the new ſecretary they had taken more liberty to talk of what was done in council, than they had done formerly; and the duke of Buckingham pleaſed himſelf and all the company in acting all the perſons who ſpoke there in their looks and motions, in which piece of mimickery he had an eſpecial faculty, and in this exerciſe the chancellor had a full part. In the heighth of mirth, if the king ſaid he would go ſuch a journey, or do ſuch a trivial thing to-morrow, ſomebody would lay a wager that he would not do it; and when he aſked why, it was anſwered, that the chancellor would not let him: and then another would proteſt, that he thought there was no ground for that imputation. However, he could not deny, that it was generally believed abroad, that his majeſty was entirely and implicitly governed by the chancellor, which often put the king to declare in ſome paſſion, that the chancellor had ſerved him long, and underſtood his buſineſs, in which he truſted him; but in any other matter than his buſineſs, he had no other credit with him than any other man, which they reported with great joy in other companies. In the former ſeſſion of the parliament the lord Aſhley, out of his indifferency in matters of religion, and the lord Arlington, out of his good-will to the Roman Catholicks, had drawn in the lord privy-ſeal, whoſe intereſt was moſt in the Preſbyterians, to propoſe to the king an indulgence for liberty of conſcience, for which they offered two motives: the one, the probability of a war with the Dutch, though it was not then declared, and in that caſe the proſecution of

people

people at home for their ſeveral opinions in religion would be very inconvenient, and might prove miſchievous. The other was, that in the fright men were in, by reaſon of the late bill againſt conventicles, and the warmth the parliament expreſſed with reference to the church, had ſo prepared all ſorts of nonconformiſts, that they would gladly compound for liberty at any reaſonable rates, and by this means a good yearly revenue might be raiſed to the king, and a firm concord and tranquility be eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, if power were granted by the parliament to the king, to grant diſpenſations to ſuch, who he knew to be peaceably affected, for the exerciſe of that religion which was agreeable to their conſcience, without undergoing the penalty of the laws; and they had prepared a Schedule, in which they computed what every Roman Catholick would be willing to pay yearly for the exerciſe of his religion, and ſo of every other ſect; which, upon the eſtimate they made, would indeed have amounted to a very great ſum yearly. The king liked the arguments and the project very well, and wiſhed them to prepare ſuch a bill, which was done quickly, very ſhort, and without any mention of other advantage to grow from it, than the peace and quiet of the kingdom, and an entire reference to the king's own judgment and diſcretion in diſpenſing his diſpenſations. This was equally approved, and though hitherto it had been managed with great ſecreſy, that it might not come to the knowledge of the chancellor and the treaſurer, who they well knew would never conſent to it; yet the king reſolved to impart it to them, and the chancellor being then afflicted with the gout, the committee that uſed to be called, was appointed to meet at Worceſter-Houſe; and thither likewiſe came the privy-ſeal and the lord Aſhley, who had never before been preſent in thoſe meetings.

meetings. The king informed them of the occaſion of their conference, and cauſed the draught for the bill to be read to them, which was done, and ſuch reaſons given by thoſe who promoted it, as they thought fit. The chief of which was, that there could be no danger in truſting the king, whoſe zeal to the proteſtant religion was ſo well known, that no body could doubt that he would uſe this power when granted to him, otherwiſe than ſhould be for the good and benefit of the church and ſtate. The chancellor and the treaſurer, as had been preſaged, were very warm againſt it, and uſed many arguments to diſſwade the king from proſecuting it, as a thing that could never find the concurrence of either or both houſes, and which would raiſe a jealouſy in both, and in the people generally of his affection to the papiſts, which would not be good for either, and every body knew that he had no favour for either of the other factions; but what the others ſaid, who were of another opinion, prevailed more, and his majeſty declared, that the bill ſhould be preſented to the houſe of peers as from him, and in his name, and that he hoped none of his ſervants, who knew his mind as well as every body there did, would oppoſe it, but either be abſent or ſilent. To which both the lords anſwered, that they ſhould not be abſent purpoſely, and if they were preſent, they hoped his majeſty would excuſe them, if they ſpake according to conſcience and judgment, which they could not forbear to do, with which his majeſty ſeemed unſatisfied, though the lords of combination were better pleaſed than they would have been with their concurrence. Within few days after, the chancellor remaining ſtill in his chamber without being able to go, the bill was preſented in the houſe of peers by the lord privy-ſeal, as by the king's direction and approbation, and there-

thereupon had the firſt reading; and as ſoon as it was read, the lord treaſurer ſpake againſt it as unfit to be received and to have the countenance of another reading in the houſe, being a deſign againſt the proteſtant religion, and in favour of the papiſts, with many ſharp reflections upon thoſe, who had ſpoken for it, and many of the biſhops ſpake to the ſame purpoſe, and urged many weighty arguments againſt it: however, it was moved, that ſince it was averred, that it was with the king's privity, it would be a thing unheard of to deny it a ſecond reading, and that there might be no danger of a ſurpriſal by its being read in a thin houſe, it was ordered, that it ſhould be read the ſecond time, upon a day named at ten of the clock in the morning, with which all were ſatisfied. In the mean time great pains were taken to perſwade particular men to approve it, and ſome of the biſhops were ſharply reprehended for oppoſing the king's prerogative, with ſome intimation, that if they continued in that obſtinacy, they ſhould repent it, to which they made ſuch anſwers, as in honeſty and wiſdom they ought to do, without being ſhaken in their reſolution. It was rather inſinuated than declared, that the bill had been peruſed, ſome ſaid, drawn by the chancellor, and averred that he was not againſt it, which being confidently reported, and believed or not believed, as he was more or leſs known to the perſons preſent, he thought himſelf obliged to make his own ſenſe known, and ſo on the day appointed for the ſecond reading, with pain and difficulty he was in his place in the houſe: and ſo after the ſecond reading of the bill, he was of courſe to propoſe the commitment of it. Many of the biſhops and others ſpake fiercely againſt it, as a way to undermine religion, and the lord treaſurer with his uſual weight of words ſhewed the ill con-

ſequences that muſt attend it, and that in the bottom it was a project to get money at the price of religion, which he believed was not intended or known to the king, but only to thoſe who had projected it, and it may be impoſed upon others who meant well. The lord privy-ſeal, either upon the obſervation of the countenance of the houſe, or advertiſement of his friends, or unwilling to venture his reputation in the enterprize, had given over the game the firſt day, and now ſpake not at all; but the lord Aſhley adhered firmly to his point, ſpake often, and with great ſharpneſs of wit, and had a cadence in his words and pronunciation, that drew attention. He ſaid it was the king's misfortune, that a matter of ſo great concernment to him, and ſuch a prerogative, as it may be would be found to be inherent in him without any declaration of parliament, ſhould be ſupported only by ſuch weak men as himſelf, who ſerved his majeſty at a diſtance, whilſt the great officers of the crown thought fit to oppoſe it, which he more wondered at, becauſe no body knew more than they, the king's unſhakeable firmneſs in his religion, that had reſiſted and vanquiſhed ſo many great temptations, and therefore he could not be thought unworthy of a greater truſt with reference to it, than he would have by this bill. The chancellor having not been preſent at the former debate upon the firſt day, thought it fit to ſit ſilent in this, till he found the houſe in ſome expectation to hear his opinion, and then he ſtood up and ſaid, that no man ſhould ſay more, if it were neceſſary or pertinent, of the king's conſtancy in his religion, and of his underſtanding the conſtitution and foundation of the church of England than he, no man had been witneſs to more aſſaults, which he had ſuſtained, than he had been, and of many victories, and therefore, if the queſtion were,

how

how far he might be truſted in that point, he ſhould make no ſcruple in declaring, that he thought him more worthy to be truſted than any man alive; but there was nothing in that bill, that could make that the queſtion, which had confounded all notions of religion, and erected a chaos of policy to undermine all religion and government; ſo that the queſtion was not, whether the king were worthy of that truſt, but whether that truſt were worthy of the king: that it had been no new thing for kings to diveſt themſelves of many particular rights and powers, becauſe they were thereby expoſed to more trouble and vexation, and ſo deputed that authority to others qualified by him; and he thought it a very unreaſonable and unjuſt thing to commit ſuch a truſt to the king, which no body could ſuppoſe he could execute himſelf, and yet muſt ſubject him to daily and hourly importunities, which muſt be ſo much the more uneaſy to a nature of ſo great bounty and generoſity, that nothing is ſo ungrateful to him, as to be obliged to deny. In the vehemence of this debate, the lord Aſhley having uſed ſome language, that he knew reflected upon him, the chancellor let fall ſome unwary expreſſions, which were turned to his reproach, and remembered long after. When he inſiſted upon the wildneſs and illimittedneſs in the bill, he ſaid, it was ſhip-money in religion, that no body could know the end of, or where it would reſt; that if it were paſſed, Dr. Goffe or any other apoſtate from the church of England might be made a biſhop or archbiſhop here, all oaths and ſtatutes and ſubſcriptions being diſpenſed with, which were thought two envious inſtances, and gave his enemies opportunities to make gloſſes and reflections upon to his diſadvantage. In this debate it fell out, that the duke of York appeared very much againſt the bill, which was imputed

imputed to the chancellor, and ſerved to heap coals of fire upon his head. In the end, very few having ſpoken for it, though there were many who would have conſented to it beſides the catholick lords, it was agreed, that there ſhould be no queſtion put for the commitment, which was the moſt civil way of rejecting it, and left it to be no more called for.